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THE

SCOTTISH REVIEW.

JULY, 1893.

ART. I.—THE SPANISH BLANKS AND CATHOLIC EARLS, 1592-4.

1. *A Discouerie of the Unnatural and Traiterovs Conspiracie of Scottisch Papists against God, His Kirke, their Natiue Cuntrie, the Kingis Majesties Person and Estate. Set downe, as it was Confessed and Subscriuit be M. George Ker, yet remaining in Prisone, and David Graham of Fentrie, iustly Executed for his Treason in Edinburgh, the* 15 *of Februarie,* 1592. *Whereunto are annexed, certaine intercepted Letters, written by sundrie of that factioun to the same purpose.* Printed and published at the speciall command of the Kingis Majestie. At Edinburgh, printed by Robert Waldegrave, Printer to the Kingis Maiestie.

2. *Narratives of Scottish Catholics under Mary Stuart and James VI.* Now first printed from the original manuscripts in the secret archives of the Vatican and other collections. Edited by WILLIAM FORBES-LEITH, S.J. Edinburgh, 1885.

3. *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland.* Edited and arranged by DAVID MASSON, LL.D. Vol. V. A.D. 1592-1599. (H. M. General Register House); Edinburgh, 1882.

4. *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury, K.G., etc., preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire.* Part IV. (Hist. Manuscripts Commission). London, 1892.

MONDAY, the first of January, 1593, opened in the annals of Scotland what Sir James Balfour well describes as 'a most observable year.' It marks indeed an epoch in the history of James VI. On the morning of that day the city of Edinburgh was thrown into a state of excitement and alarm by the news that a fresh Popish plot had just been discovered, and that one George Kerr, brother of Lord Newbattle, and a chief conspirator, had been on the preceding night lodged in the Tolbooth, and that upon him had been found letters by Jesuits and others of a treasonable character, with certain mysterious blank papers signed by the Roman Catholic leaders, George Gordon, Earl of Huntly, Francis Hay, Earl of Errol, William Douglas, Earl of Angus, and Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchindoun. The affair of these so-called 'Spanish Blanks,' with the complications to which it gave rise, agitated all Scotland for several years to come. It was a matter of all-absorbing interest to the kirk. It determined the policy of the King in his relations to the ministers and the nobles. It regulated, as far as anything could regulate, the erratic movements and wild raids of the Earl of Bothwell, and was the centre round which revolved the intrigues of the English Queen. The court of Elizabeth was as much disturbed as that of James by the discovery; and the conduct of the Scottish King in dealing with the conspirators forms the topic of a series of characteristic and incisive letters from the Queen. Amid the turmoil of controversies, feuds and factions, James stood almost alone, or rather was 'tossed as a tennis ball between the precise ministers and the treacherous Papists,'* the object either of open attack or of ill-concealed suspicion and mistrust to every party in the two kingdoms. The excitement which originated in the capture of Mr. George Kerr only partially died away in the battle of Glenlivet and its results, at the end of 1594.

A certain air of mystery hangs over every plot of which James was the apparent object. He seemed to play with each as if he were a fellow conspirator, and his own eccentric behaviour makes it somewhat difficult to interpret what would be otherwise plain

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* Sir J. Balfour, *Annals of Scotland.*

facts. This is specially the case with the affair of the Spanish Blanks. Historians agree, at least, in applying to it the epithet 'mysterious.' The mystery is in part due, as Hill Burton remarks, to the imperfect evidence which creates suspicion and alarm, but in part also, if not mainly, to the subsequent conduct of the King. On this account the matter deserves attention in all its bearings, and fresh evidence of every kind should be carefully scrutinised. Unfortunately the printed materials for this period are unusually scanty. The interest of historians and editors seems to have exhausted itself in the career of Queen Mary. State papers up to the date of her execution, or at least to the defeat of the Armada in the following year, have been printed in abundance and with textual completeness. We have equal abundance after James's accession to the English throne. But there is a comparative dearth of printed documentary sources for Scottish history in the period intervening between 1588 and 1603. As to English history, Mr. Froude leaves us at the Armada, and Mr. Gardiner does not take up the story until the union of the crowns. Again, Elizabeth's trusted agent and active correspondent at the Scottish Court, from December 1589 to his death in November 1597, was Mr. Robert Bowes. It so happens that Bowes' correspondence during an earlier agency in Scotland, was published by the Surtees Society, but for some unexplained reason the editor stops with 1588. For the story of the conflict between James and the Catholic earls on the one hand, and the Kirk and Elizabeth on the other; his intrigues with Spain, Rome and the Jesuits; while he held fast to his one resolute, fixed, over-mastering purpose, the securing of the English Crown, we have to be content mainly with Mr. Thorpe's meagre Calendar, which is little more than a catalogue of State Papers, tantalising in its suggestiveness and exasperating in its brevity. Mr. Fraser Tytler no doubt consulted, and made some good use of these inedited documents, but the gap has yet to be filled up in detail, and there is a large field on the Roman Catholic side which is not yet thoroughly explored. Meanwhile, it need hardly be said that there is no single book in which the outlines of the story will be found sketched, with such an accurate grasp of the facts, or such concise and graphic expression, as in the prefaces and notes to the

Registers of the Privy Council by our present Historiographer Royal. But in the last of the works named at the head of this article, there has been made public at least one transaction of James which appears to throw new light on his attitude at the time towards what is called 'the Spanish treason.' This alone may be a sufficient reason for once more calling attention to the complicated current of events in which it finds a place.

Popish conspiracies or secret negotiations with Roman Catholic powers for the restoration of the Catholic religion were no new thing in Scotland. As long as Mary Stuart was alive and a prisoner in England, her elevation to the English throne was naturally the first object of all such combinations; and, so far, there was a certain community of interests and aim between the English and Scottish Catholics. But after the execution of Mary a divergency of policy, which had already showed itself in some measure, became accentuated; and Scottish Catholics had to act on lines of their own. From the point of view of political ethics, their position all along had been entirely different from that of the Catholics of England. The main object of the English conspirators was to overthrow Elizabeth and her firmly established government. In their eyes the Queen was the arch enemy, an excommunicated usurper and tyrant. It was a secondary matter, and one which at a later stage created dissensions and factions among them, who was to be her successor. But the wiser heads and the men who held the reins of action, Cardinal Allen, Father Parsons and Sir Francis Englefield, knew well that England had now passed beyond the possibility of conversion. The power, wealth, and intelligence, of the country had become thoroughly Protestant. Even the scattered forces available for insurrection within the kingdom—this at least was made evident after the Armada—were insignificant. England, therefore, could only be subjected to the Roman faith *vi et armis* by foreign invasion; and for such a purpose even the faithful at home could not safely be relied upon for aid, notwithstandiug Allen's threats and imprecations. It was quite otherwise in Scotland. To the mind of the Catholic malcontent there, the main enemy was not his own King and Commonwealth, but a foreign State. James was a possible ally,

or at the worst a feeble obstructive to measures which were intended for his own aggrandisement. For it was generally believed that the King was at heart, or at least potentially, a Catholic, and that if he remained in profession a Protestant, he would be persuaded to grant a full measure of toleration. Certain Jesuits and exiles, zealous partisans of Spain, may have come to think differently later on, but the noblemen residing at home were able to persuade themselves that in conspiring with the Pope and King Philip they were plotting with fair grounds of hope for the conquest of England and the restoration of Catholicism throughout Great Britain, under the sceptre of James VI. The conditions of the struggle were in other respects also very different in the two countries. In Scotland the oppression of the penal laws against papists came not so much from the civil legislature and executive as from the Kirk. The hardship was embittered by all possible theological odium. It was not, as in England, where in theory at least, the State, for reasons of State, insisted upon uniformity of religious worship, and cared little for interior belief in comparison with outward submission. But, here, it was the persecution of one religious body by another, and though the heart and mind of the people were thoroughly on the side of their clergy, it was plain enough that the power of the ministers would have been far less if it had not been for the continued intrigues of the English Court in their favour.

Under such conditions—a weak civil government, a country rent by factions, a King of doubtful creed, a compact Catholic territory in the north, with its religion proscribed and persecuted by a clerical body, who, to a large extent, held the key of the position (so it seemed) by means of foreign support—the northern earls could boast of being true to their country and loyal to their King, while they plotted, with or without his concurrence, for the extinction of Presbyterian rule and for the humiliation of England.

As early as 1584, when the Scottish Catholics, the Archbishop of Glasgow and the Duke of Guise, supported by Cardinal Como, were arguing the advantages of beginning the great Enterprise on the side of Scotland, Dr. Allen, to their great indignation, insisted rather upon opening the campaign in the south of

England, and drew up a memorandum in favour of that view. Besides military reasons, which do not here concern us, he argues that if the attack was made from Scotland, English Catholics—such was the old enmity between the nations—would not believe it to be a war of religion, but would suspect the Scots of a design to subjugate England in their own interests. Then, as to the King of Scots, many men think that he cares nothing for the Catholic faith, the Pope, or Philip of Spain, whom 'the English Catholics desire to have for their King, as well on account of his well-known faith, as of the justice of his title,' but that he is rather minded to retain the empire for himself. On the other hand, said Allen, if the army lands in England, the Catholics there will flock towards our side willingly, and then accept aid from Scotland without fear. This counsel of Allen and Father Parsons was of course that of Spain, and, as we know, finally prevailed.*

The moment the news of Mary's execution reached Rome, Olivares, the Spanish ambassador at the Papal Court, made his preparations for a change of front in his master's policy. He gave to Dr. Allen, who was now to take the place of the Queen of Scots, as prince and leader of the enterprise, instructions for an audience he was to have with Sixtus V. Allen was to make the Pope clearly understand that Mary had been well aware of her son's hopeless obstinacy in heresy, that the Catholics of England were now prepared for the succession of Philip in his stead, and that it was advisable for the good of Christendom that the Pope should, in conjunction with the Catholic King, 'take some good resolution for the reformation of Scotland, to be carried out at the time of the enterprise of England, or afterwards.' How the Scottish Catholics were to be hoodwinked meanwhile is revealed in a letter of this same Olivares to Don Juan de Idiaquez, the ambassador at Paris (July 10, 1587).

Allen and Parsons, writes Olivares, found Father William Creighton, a Scottish Jesuit, possessed of 'a whim,' which was current also among his countrymen at Paris, that the King of Scotland was to be converted, and that the reduction of England

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* *Letters and Memorials of Cardinal Allen*, p. 66, *et seqq.*

was to be brought about in order to secure the succession to the said King. Allen and Parsons, he adds, *thought it best not to undeceive these men of their fancy, but to go on temporizing with them*, and in the meantime to scatter books about England in favour of the Spanish title. Thus the question of reducing Great Britain to the obedience of the Pope was gradually resolving itself into a contest of two wily and ambitious princes for the English Crown; and no one saw this more clearly than the astute Sixtus V.

It is strange to see how slowly it dawned upon all concerned that the Armada's defeat in the Channel was decisive. The first impulse of the Scottish Catholics was to send Father Creighton and others after the fleet, and to induce the commanders to land their forces in Scotland. The same hope was in the mind of Olivares when the news of the earlier disaster reached Rome. But when the complete failure of the enterprise became manifest the wrath of the Scottish Catholics against their English brethren knew no bounds. They laid the blame upon English pride, exclusiveness, and 'unchristian envy,' and at once made preparations to invite the King of Spain to renew his invasion of England by way of Scotland. In February, 1589, a servant of Colonel Semple, named Pringle, was captured in England with a number of letters from the Earl of Huntly, Earl of Morton, and Lord Claud Hamilton, written in the name of the Catholics of Scotland to the King of Spain. These noblemen express their deep regret that the fleet had not come to Scotland, where the King would have discovered an incredible number of friends in full readiness, and far more support than ever England could give. They promise that if now but six thousand Spaniards would land in Scotland, and bring with them money, they could enlist forces here as easily as in Spain, and soon give enough ado to England. With this and other letters, offering much military advice to King Philip, was an interesting letter from Robert Bruce directed to the Duke of Parma. This Robert Bruce, a clever, but as it appeared, unscrupulous person, had been formerly a secretary of Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, and was by him trained for political service in the cause of Queen Mary. He had been despatched to Spain and France on an important mission on behalf of the Scottish Catholics in 1586, and now being himself

in receipt of a good pension from Philip was acting in Scotland as His Majesty's paymaster. No one knew more of the secrets of the conspiracy than Bruce. In his letter to the Duke of Parma he piously consoles himself for the failure of the Armada with the reflection that while heretics triumphed, and some Catholics, like Huntly himself, had 'bangled,' God has made Angus, the chief of the English faction, to die, and two powerful noblemen to be converted through the persuasions and prayers of the Jesuits, viz., the Earl of Errol, constable of Scotland, converted by Father Edmond Hay, and the Earl of Crawford by Wm. Creighton, 'a very honest man and very wise.' The Jesuit fathers 'make great fruit in Scotland, and so soon as a lord or other person of importance is converted by them, they dispose and incline, in the very mean time their affection to the service of the King of Spain and your Highness, as a thing inseparably conjoined with the advancement of true religion in this country.' Bruce further announces that the Earl Bothwell, admiral of Scotland, and as gallant a lord as any in the land, though a Protestant, is guided by him, Bruce, and will assist the Spaniards against England with considerable forces, which he can muster, and moreover, is willing to become a Catholic if he could be assured of the safe possession of two abbeys now in his hands.

The packet of letters was at once despatched to James, accompanied by a severe lecture from Elizabeth. If he had taken her repeated warnings, he might have captured before this these rebels, who have grown daily in strength. She wonders at his toleration of notorious offenders, such as durst send to a foreign King to land forces in this country. 'Good God!' she exclaims, 'Methinks I do but dream; no King a week would bear this. . . . These be not the forms of government that my years have experimented.' She implores him to act promptly before the traitors may escape. 'Of a suddainty they must be clapped up.' The letters were placed in the King's hands just as he was about to rise from a meeting of the Council, 27th February. Two of the conspirators, Huntly and Errol, were by his side at the moment. Errol made his escape; Huntly defiantly offered to stand his trial, and allowed himself to be placed under arrest in Edinburgh Castle. Next day the King and the Chancellor

dined with the prisoner; 'the King,' says Calderwood, 'kissed him often, and protested he knew he was innocent.' A few days later he was set at liberty, with orders to depart to his own country, and he marched down the street accompanied by some two hundred men. The citizens, in fear, kept under arms. The King, whose blind affection or want of firmness or crooked policy, may well have appeared incomprehensible to Elizabeth, accepted an invitation from Huntly to a banquet, and went out hunting with him, and with Errol who had again joined his confederate. The two earls pressed the King to go with them, but this he resolutely refused, and threatened them with the loss of his friendship and with revenge if they dared to use force with him. In the middle of April, Huntly, Errol, and Crawford were in open insurrection in the north, at the head of about 3,000 men, with Bothwell and Montrose acting as their allies. The King marched against the insurgents, came up with them at the 'Brig of Dee,' near Aberdeen, with scarcely a third of their forces, but the earls feared an actual conflict and dispersed. The King now acted with vigour. He 'begins to be moved,' wrote Ashby, an English agent to Walsingham, 'and will not desist till he has wrecked the Papists, if the Queen will back him.' The Queen did not back him; nevertheless, James succeeded in completely crushing out the rebels, exacted security for their good behaviour, made captives of the principal leaders, and returned to Edinburgh in triumph. It was reported to England that Huntly would be executed, but the upshot of the whole affair was that he was committed to ward in Borthwick Castle, the Earl of Crawford in St. Andrews, and Bothwell in Tantallon Castle. Others, including Graham of Fintry, who were not caught, were denounced rebels, and there was comparative quiet, at least on the part of the Catholics, for some few years.

The Kirk at this time had not been passive. On February 6, before the news of the English discovery had reached Edinburgh, the General Assembly, in alarm at the signs of activity among the priests, had made earnest complaint of the danger to religion, and had obtained from the King the Act of the 21st, decreeing the expulsion of all Jesuits and excommunicated persons, 'the crafty and politic heads, traffickers in matters of State, surmisers

and forgers of lies among some of the nobility, dispersers of bruits and rumours of foreign preparations,' naming especially Mr. Edmund Hay, William Creighton, Graham of Fintry, Robert Bruce, Patrick Master of Gray, William [Chisholm] sometime Bishop of Dunblane, and James Gordon, uncle of the Earl of Huntly. Early in March there was another Act of Council passed, at the instance of the clergy, of a similar character, while the noblemen, gentlemen, and others entered into a band for the protection of the true religion and the King's person.

The progressive stages of the affair of the Brig of Dee are of interest here, as they are, curiously, repeated, though on a larger scale, in the case of the Spanish Blanks four years later.

The political ferment for a while cooled down. James entered into more friendly relations with the Queen of England and with his own clergy, and had leisure to devote himself to more domestic concerns. In October, 1589, he left the kingdom in quest of his bride, and seldom was the country more quiet than during his six months absence in Norway and Denmark. The most weighty event after his return was the lawless attack on Donibristle Castle and the cruel murder of the bonnie Earl of Moray by Huntly. This led to many political complications and shifting of sides. James's authority was again weakened, the kirk waxed strong, and its strength augured ill for the Catholics, who had good ground for alarm. In 1592 the clergy obtained the Act which has been called 'The Charter of the liberties of the Kirk.' Earl Bothwell became more troublesome, and he now generally played the part of a friend and champion of Protestantism. Meanwhile, William, Earl of Angus, a Catholic, had succeeded his father, the Protestant earl, and took the place of Crawford as one of the three leaders of the Papal party. Bowes, whose eyes and ears were everywhere, kept Lord Burleigh well informed of all their secret doings. In March he knew or suspected that George Kerr was to be sent by them into Spain. In May he reported that the Papists had a very dangerous plot in hand, and in June Elizabeth was impelled to instruct him once more to warn James that Spanish forces were about to be landed in Scotland. The King was made angry

with petitions made to him to banish the Jesuits and to punish Huntly. He became obstinate and refused audience to Bowes. In the midst of the general suspicion and alarm Robert Bruce, the arch-conspirator and ally of the Jesuits in the previous affairs of 1586, turns informer and offers (in the month of August) to discover the Spanish practices to Bowes. The last letter of the year from Bowes to Burleigh gives information of a secret meeting between Huntly, Errol and Angus, and at the same time encloses what he well describes as 'a strange' document, a remission granted by the King of Scotland to Robert Bruce, for treason, negotiation with foreign princes and Jesuits for the alteration of religion, for the receipt and distribution of money from Spain and other offences,' dated 'Holyrood, December 8th.' By what means, or for what object on the King's part, this double traitor obtained such a pardon is not apparent, but the fact could only add to the uneasiness of the Protestant party.

Bowes, no doubt, contrived to give some hints of what was going on to the ministers. In any case, Mr. Andrew Knox, minister of Paisley and afterwards Bishop of the Isles, got scent of Kerr's intended departure on his Spanish mission, and taking with him some scholars of Glasgow and other friends, boldly set out in pursuit. Kerr was caught by them on December 27th, just as he was about to set sail out of Fairlie Road, by the Isles of Cumbrae. His chests were examined, and within the sleeves of a sailor's shirt were found the papers and the Spanish Blanks already mentioned. Kerr was taken by Lord Ross as far as Calder, but it was significant of the dread entertained of the power which might lie behind this solitary man with his packet that he was detained at Calder until the magistrates of Edinburgh summoned courage to come on Sunday evening (New-year's eve) with 60 horse and 200 footmen, to convey the dangerous prisoner to the Tolbooth. The next day, the Earl of Angus came to his house in Edinburgh. The citizens watched him all night, and on the following morning arrested him and shut him up in the Castle. Meanwhile, the intercepted documents were opened before a number of ministers. The King was absent spending his Christmas at the seat of the Earl of Mar. Letters were sent to him urging his immediate presence.

George Kerr was examined but would confess nothing. On Wednesday night the King arrived. He approved of what had been done and spoke indignantly of Angus as 'a traitor of traitors,' gave out his intention of prosecuting the conspirators to the utmost, and convened the nobility and barons for a meeting in Edinburgh on the 10th. The discovery of the plot was announced on January 5th in a royal proclamation. By 'the covert and busy travails of Jesuits, seminary priests, born subjects of the realm and some other strangers,' certain of His Highnesses subjects have been seduced to apostacy from their religion to enter into a treasonable conspiracy for inbringing of strangers and Spaniards into this realm, next spring and sooner, for the overthrow of His Highness and all professing the true religion; and to the ruin of this ancient kingdom and the liberty which this nation has enjoyed for so many years, that it may be subject hereafter to the slavery and tyranny of that proud nation. It has been the good pleasure of God to make the proof certain of the intention of these pernicious trafficking Papists and Jesuits, namely, James Gordon and Robert Abercromby, 'whose letters, directions, advices, yea and the messengers, carriers of their credit and certain other chief instruments and furtherers of their trade, God has cassin in His Majesty's hands when the ships appointed for their transporting was in full readiness to sail.'

But to the ministers these constant proclamations were waste of breath. They cried for deeds not words. The King was accused of lukewarmness and of culpable procrastination. Robert Bruce, the namesake of the conspirator and spy, preached in the presence of the King on Sunday the 7th, and exhorted him to do justice, or else 'the chronicles would keep in memory James the Sixth to his shame.' If the King did not satisfy men's expectations now, said the Rev. Walter Lindsay, on another day 'he would blot himself for ever.' A meeting was held on Tuesday, carrying certain resolutions which were to be urged upon the King, viz., that he should proceed instantly without further delay, that the prisoners in custody should be at once put upon their trial, and that all Papists and suspects should be removed from the government and offices of trust. There was much discussion as to who should convey these demands to James. Cer-

tain noblemen deprecated any such independent action, which would only irritate the King. Lord Lindsay cried out, 'I will go down, go who will,' and was followed by the magistrates and some thousand citizens to Holyrood. The King was angry at their holding such a meeting without his warrant. They needed not to pretend the example of assembling in the beginning of religion. For then, the prince, to wit the Queen Regent, was a Papist: he, James, was a Protestant prince. They answered, it was no time to stay upon warnings, when religion, prince, country, their lives and lands were in jeopardy.

Other meetings and conferences took place, and more excited sermons were preached. The King had his own grievances, and would not be moved to action without securing some advantage for himself. Whenever Elizabeth pressed him to punish Huntly, whom he personally liked, he would ask her to help him to put down the equally rebellious Bothwell, whom he now both feared and hated, and whom he knew the Queen secretly favoured. So when his own nobles would incite him to active measures against the Papists, he stipulated that he should be given, what he in his defenceless state assuredly needed, a strong body guard. On the 15th of January, the barons meeting in great numbers, agreed that he should have at their cost 100 horsemen, if he would enterprise the work against the trafficking Papists. So two days later the King announced that the rebels now in custody, Angus, Kerr, and David Graham of Fintry, were to be put to their trial; the earls of Huntly and Errol with Patrick Gordon of Auchindoun were summoned to appear before the King at St. Andrews, on February 5th, to answer to the charges against them; and proclamation was to be made calling earls, barons, and others concerned to provide themselves with arms and provisions for 30 days, and to meet the King at certain places, and on days appointed, beginning with Edinburgh on the 15th February, and ending at Aberdeen on the 21st, and thence to pass forward to the suppression of the rebels by force.

But all this time the prisoners had confessed nothing. Men were still in the dark as to the nature of the conspiracy, and the evidence against the suspected persons was of the slenderest character. In the intercepted letters of 1589 the details of the

plot and the persons concerned in it stood plainly revealed. In the case of the Spanish Blanks it was all guess work, until January 29th, when 'a small taste of the torture,' superintended by the King himself, opened Kerr's lips. A complete confession was gradually extracted from him, and similar disclosures were finally made by the more resolute Graham of Fintry on the 13th and 14th of February. They both wrote letters to the King, repeating the substance of their confessions. The King, in a hurry to be off on his northern expedition, had Fintry tried, convicted and executed at the Market Cross in Edinburgh on the 15th. George Kerr remained a prisoner. As Moysie somewhat illogically puts it: 'In respect of Mr. George's declaration of the truth the King granted him his life. The laird of Fintry deponit the samyn and therefore was execut.' Two days before this the Earl of Angus made his escape from the Castle, it was said, with the evident connivance of his keepers.

The tract, the full title of which is given above, was now printed and published by royal authority at the press of the King's printer, Robert Waldegrave, and it was reprinted immediately in London.* The editor of the tract, apparently the Rev. John Davidson, after 3 or 4 pages of preface to the reader, describes the Blanks and gives the story of the plot as it was extracted from the confessions of Kerr and Fintry, but prints in full only four out of the seventeen letters found upon Kerr. The latter and greater part of the volume is taken up with the letters intercepted, not in 1593 but in 1589, concluding with the long letter of Robert Bruce already mentioned. The last words of the tract are the signature of the man to whom in all probability the discovery of the Blanks was due. No one would gather the extended nature of the contents from the title or preface, but the letters of 1589 give the presumptive evidence, the colour and force, which are rather wanting in the letters and blanks of the later conspiracy.

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* Printed by R. F. for J. Norton, 1593. Waldegrave issued a second edition in Edinburgh in the same year. Later editions appeared in London in 1603, and in Edinburgh (apparently from the press of John Wreittoun) in 1626 or 1627. The tract is reproduced also in Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, Vol. I., pp. 317-335.

The Blanks were eight in number. Two were subscribed respectively De vostre majestie très humble et très obeisant serviteur Guilliame Compte de Angus—Francoys Compte de Erroll. Two others were signed Gulielmus Angusiæ comes and Franciscus Errolliæ comes. Two again were subscribed Georgius comes de Huntlie, and lastly two were subscribed in Latin in the midst of two open sheets of paper, by all three earls together with Patricius Gordoun de Auchindoun miles. The letters selected for publication by authority were—1st, one from Joan. Cecilio, i.e., Dr. John Cecil, the English secular priest (erroneously called a Jesuit), addressed to some 'Good Father,' and written from Seton, 2nd Oct. 1592. There is nothing of politics in it, at least on the surface. 'The Lord Seton,' he writes, 'in whose house I sojourn sometimes, salutes you. Of the affairs of the Catholics here I leave it to them, to write and relate, by whose means these letters shall be conveyed. My Lord Seton has an haven of his own which may be hereafter very commodious for our missions. . . . if you send any into these parts let them come furnished with as ample faculties as you may.' The next letter—a very short one—signed Angus (Edinb. 10th October), in commendation of George Kerr: 'The present bearer can inform you of such things as occur with us, for we are here daily subject unto alteration. Ye may credit him as myself for so his virtues do merit.' The third is from J. Christesone an alias of Father James Gordon, dated Dundee, 20th Nov. 1592, to his assured friend George Crawford, otherwise Father William Creighton. Christeson is imprudent, and his language unnecessarily exposes him to suspicion, at least when it is discovered that he is a Jesuit writing to another Jesuit not unknown as a political agent.

'Your friends that are here have directed this present bearer to you for full resolution of your affairs in these quarters. We have delayed overlong I grant. But he will show you the cause of all. The next best is ye use all expedition in time coming against the next summer. . . . If ye come ye will find more friends than ever ye had; but otherwise ye will find fewer because the next summer many are bound to other countries and will not abide on you no longer. Haste home here some word to your friends that we may put them in good hope of you, and they will tarry the longer. . . . Ye have gotten all that ye desired [the editor inserts in the

margin, *relative to the blanks*]; therefore make haste. . . . We will abide here yourself shortly; and I would ye brought the rest of your friends with you that are beyond sea [margin, *the Spanish army*]. . . . Your wife and your bairns [margin, *the Catholic Romans and their confederates*] commend them to you and look to see you shortly.'

The last of the four letters also addressed to Creighton under the name of Crawford purports to be written by Robert Sandesone, otherwise Father Robert Abercromby. He affects the usual style of mercantile correspondence, apologizies as Gordon had done for the delay, commends Kerr the messenger, and gives various pieces of news of no great political importance.

'I regret,' he writes, 'and lament heavily the sloth and negligence your merchants have used in answering of your last suit ye propounded to them; for apparently if they had made answer in due time our wares had been here in due time with our great profit and consolation. The stay and stop of the matter apparently was lack of expenses that no man could, of his own charges, take that voyage in hand; yea some craved a thousand crowns for his expenses. So the matter was one wholly given over, and almost clean forgot until it pleased God, of his Divine Providence, to stir up this bearer to take the turn in hand on his own expenses. . . . If I had a thousand tongues, with as many mouths, with Cicero's eloquence, I cannot be worthy enough in commendation of this gentleman to you and all your company. . . . Ye heard before that David Forrester [*David Graham of Fintry*] has a son, and now has another born in the castle of Stirling, where he is in ward, hardly used. There is but one of our nobility here, which has of the King of Spain a pension, well paid, of twelve hundred crowns, the which apparently are evil bestowed, for he, nor none of his, as yet have done any kind of good in the promotion of the King's matters. [Note, *envy among the Papists themselves.*] Wherefore such pensions were better bestowed on others who travail daily and hourly, putting to the hazard bath their goods and lives, as this bearer hath done and daily does. . . . At Scotland, the 15th of December, 1592.'

The other letters not included in the 'Discoverie,' but printed by Calderwood, contain still less evidence of any intended treason. Most of them are apparently written by Catholic priests and laymen who, knowing of Kerr's departure, made use of him as a postman for their private correspondence. Three are by Gordon, using the name of Christeson. One is by John Chisholm to his relative, William Chisholm, Bishop of Vaison. Six are formal letters in Latin to Jesuit superiors abroad, recommending to their good services the bearer, who is described as 'Georgius Carus

(vero, Deo et nobis carus,') and as 'utriusque juris doctor.' These are signed by Father Gordon and Father Abercromby in their own names.

It would be interesting to know what interpretation was put upon these obscure or trivial epistles until the key was supplied by the confessions of the prisoners. The kernel of the mystery evidently lay in the Blanks; and Bowes at first made sure that they were written over with white vitriol.

The substance of the confessions of Kerr and Fintry was as follows: In March of the preceding year, 1592, Creighton, who had been now about two years in Spain, sent a messenger, William Gordon, son of the laird of Abergeldie, to Father James Gordon with letters giving information to the Scottish Catholics regarding his, Creighton's, recent negotiations with the King of Spain. Philip complained that he had hitherto been deceived by the English, and declared that he was now prepared to embrace the advice of Creighton, both for the invading of England and the alteration of religion in Scotland. For this purpose Creighton asked for so many signed blanks and 'procurations' as could be got from the nobility as guarantees of their support. Creighton, after coming to terms with the Spanish King, was to fill up these blanks, which were to be taken as pledges on the part of the nobles for the fulfilling of their part on the landing of the Spanish army. This army was to consist of 30,000 men, who were to land at Kirkcudbright or at the mouth of the Clyde in the spring of 1593. First of all a sum of money was to be sent for the raising of forces in Scotland. Four or five thousand men were to remain in the country to assist the Catholic leaders to restore the Roman Church, or at least to establish freedom of conscience. The rest of the army was to move south for the conquest of England.

Father Gordon showed these letters to Father Abercromby, and who afterwards showed them to Graham of Fintry at Abernethy, in April. It was then their intention to employ Sir James Chisholm, one of the King's household and nephew of the Bishop of Dunblane to go into Spain. Sir James accordingly had interviews with the Earls of Huntly and Errol, and conferred with George Kerr about the matter in the month of June, when the

parliament was held in Edinburgh, and again with Kerr in October. But Sir James not being able to start so soon as was hoped, the commission was given to Kerr, who had business at the time which would take him abroad. It was thought his selection was appropriate, as both his 'good-dames' were Creightons. It was Father Abercromby who procured the signatures to most of the blanks. He obtained those of the Earls of Angus and Errol in October. Kerr obtained those of Huntly. The first six blanks were to be filled with missive letters, and the two last were to be used for proclamations, all in accordance with the advice of Creighton. With these blanks went stamps in wax with the seals of arms of the several earls.

Fintry deposed that he received his first knowledge of the affair from Father Abercromby, whom he met on several occasions, and from him he received his final instructions with regard to filling up the blanks under the direction of Creighton. He further declared that the purpose of the army was to take revenge for the death of Queen Mary, that they intended to have obtained the consent and favour of the King, but if he refused, 'what would have ensued he knows not, as he should answer to God.' The various *aliases* appearing in the letters were also explained by Fintry. The hand-writings were afterwards verified by James during his northern expedition. In his letter to the King, Fintry protests, 'Your Majesty's right and title should no wise have been harmed. Liberty of conscience should have been craved.' And Kerr in like manner declared that the conspirators doubted not the King's own consent to their enterprise. It appeared, writes Calderwood, that they 'have had his express or tacit consent, or at least have perceived him inclined that way, whereupon they have presumed,' and this was the general impression among the Protestant party.

So far there is nothing in the least improbable, nothing that had not even become commonplace, in the plot, save the incident of the Blank papers, and this is mysterious only because it is, in its conception, puerile and unbusinesslike. It is incredible that the hesitating, over-cautious, and mistrustful Philip II. would have risked his ducats and his army on signatures to documents which might at any time be as easily dis-

avowed against himself, as in fact they were disavowed by the earls when challenged by King James. The whole plan seems born of the brain of a dreaming and unpractical priest, and this is its sufficient explanation. The Jesuit novitiate was not a school for the formation of statesmen. Father Parsons, whose diplomatic ability was considerable, may seem an exception to the rule, but his most cherished political schemes ended in failure, and his successes were limited to the foundation and government of seminaries. The Jesuit fathers, however, quite apart from their tendency, or the tendency of many among them, to meddle in politics, were on many grounds excellently fitted for employment as secret agents in international intrigues. Their missionaries were accustomed to move from country to country; they were well versed in foreign languages; they had friends and a home in every capital; and their profession or order was a passport of respectability and trust to every Catholic prince. But above all, the Jesuit was commonly beyond the reach of bribery or the temptation of personal greed. He could rely upon his order for ample support during his busy life and for a comfortable home in his declining years. His vow of poverty protected him from ever feeling what real poverty meant. It is true that no religious body has been charged with greater cupidity in the accumulation of wealth for the sake of power, but the more or less wealth of the community as a rule little effected the individual. The Jesuit at least could never think to better himself by selling his secrets to the enemy; though laymen, such as Robert Bruce and Pousie Ogilvy, or even certain secular priests, might well be tempted to do so. The weak point of these Jesuit missionaries was their want of experience and judgment in the transactions of State, into which they were too easily entangled. Mary Stuart understood this well; and as her life might depend upon the wisdom or unwisdom of the zealous fathers, she begged the Spanish ambassador, Mendoza, that they might be properly instructed and warned. 'For,' she wrote, 'these good men may make some grand mistake for want of counsel and advice.' Father William Creighton was an earnest, dashing, sanguine man, full of enterprise and

daring, but credulous and unpractical. Dr. Oliver, the biographer and panegyrist of the Society, gives him this character: 'This father was possessed of considerable zeal and talent, but was deficient in judgment. To his misplaced confidence may be principally ascribed the failure of Pope Pius Fourth's secret embassy to Mary Queen of Scots;' and again, in reference to Creighton's policy towards James VI., Dr. Oliver remarks, 'Having no guile himself, he suspected none in his weak and hollow-hearted sovereign.'

However this may be, Father Creighton was undoubtedly at the bottom of the Spanish Blanks. He had for long been busy as a conspirator, or the agent of conspirators. Early in 1582 he had been sent with instructions from his General, the Papal nuncio, and the Archbishop of Glasgow, on an important mission into Scotland, when James was still a minor, under the influence of the Catholic Duke of Lennox; and he was then introduced into the Palace by night, and there hidden in some secret chamber for three days. He entered into negotiations with Lennox for liberating the Queen of Scots and making the young King a Catholic, and forthwith carried Lennox's plan of campaign first to the Duke of Guise and the Spanish Ambassador in France, and then to the Pope at Rome. In 1584 he was captured at sea, on his way to Scotland with the details of an exploded plan for the invasion of England, and was consequently imprisoned for two years in the Tower of London. His imprisonment sobered him for a time. He wrote to Walsingham, that he considered it a merciful Providence, that by his restraint he had been prevented from entering Scotland, and made fervent promises that if released he would never go there. He obtained his freedom, apparently on account of his statement that it would be unlawful for a Catholic to assassinate Queen Elizabeth. In 1588-9, he was in Scotland again, and shortly afterwards in Spain, where he evolved his famous plot. It was his constant delusion that James had strong attractions towards the Church of Rome; and he no doubt believed that at the first sign of a successful rising among Scottish Catholics, the King would openly declare himself on their side. The Jesuits, then in Scotland, by

whom Creighton's plan of the Blanks was to be carried out, are well described in the words of Bowes, if we can trust the report of these words made, with evident complacency, by Father Abercromby himself. 'This man,' writes Abercromby to the General of the Society in 1596, 'some four years ago, when there were only four of us in Scotland—Gordon, Ogilvie,* MacQuirrie, and myself—went to the King and said:—'Most gracious Prince,' in addition to other evils, your Majesty has four terrible plagues in your Kingdom.' He then named us and proceeded, 'Gordon is a learned man, but without knowledge of political affairs; Ogilvie has such ill-health, that he can do but little in opposition to our religion; MacQuirrie is young and inexperienced: but the fourth is an old and tried hand, who leaves not a corner of the country unvisited, and this one must absolutely be taken out of the way.' He adds that Bowes, seeing the King to be indifferent, offered 10,000 pounds Scots, to four noblemen if they would seize him, Abercromby; that they had painted his portrait for his more easy identification; and that his enemies declared that 'the victory would be as good as won if three men were cut off—meaning the Earl of Angus, the laird of Boniton (Wood) and myself.' It was the erudite Gordon and this vain Abercromby who, as we have seen, influenced the earls, always ready enough to fall in with any scheme, however vague and visionary, devised by their spiritual guides.

The episode of the Blanks presented little difficulty, then, on the side of the conspirators. The subsequent conduct of the King is, or rather was to his contemporaries, less intelligible. It is not surprising that the Presbyterians as well as the Catholics should have suspected in him a strong leaning to the Roman creed, or have believed that at any moment he might declare himself a convert. But there is in fact no sign of his ever having had such a leaning. He had as much dislike to the assumptions of the Papacy as he had to those of the General Assembly. But he had more fear of the Pope; and he specially dreaded the

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* William Ogilvie, not John, afterwards executed at Glasgow, with whom he has sometimes been confused.

prospect of papal excommunication as a possible bar to the English throne. He had an exaggerated notion of the power of English Catholics and foreign Catholic princes, and therefore was willing enough that they should continue to put trust in his supposed papal proclivities and his dislike to persecution. Hence his secret dealings with the Pope and the King of Spain, by the mouth of private messengers, unprovided with authenticated letters of credit, messengers who could when challenged give no proof of their commission, or whom, if necessary, James could safely disavow. These tentative, dubious, and sometimes altogether fictitious treaties continued to the end of Elizabeth's reign, and their full history has yet to be written.

James would at any moment have welcomed the alliance of Spain against England if only he could be sure that the circumstances would not force him in self-defence to become a Catholic, or that King Philip would not snatch Elizabeth's crown for himself. With his own Catholic earls, too, he was playing a difficult game. Up to a certain point he was content that they should give trouble to the Kirk, as a check upon the Presbyterian ascendancy, and as a counter move to the intrigues of the English Government. But he was always in danger of their becoming too strong for him. He dared not provoke them beyond endurance by too stringent measures of coercion—and here he showed more wisdom than many of his churchmen—and he dared not encourage them by manifest demonstrations of friendship or toleration. He wished to delude them into comparative quiet for the present by letting them hope to obtain more substantial favours in the immediate future. Father Gordon, it seems, believed in the King for long. Father Creighton put his trust in him completely until James's accession to the English Crown, or even until the Gunpowder Plot. But others were less simple. In 1596 Father Tyrie told Cardinal Cajetan that he had made up his mind to be no longer deceived with the chimeras he had hitherto had in his head of the religion of the King of Scotland, for he had discovered it to be all invention and deceit. Father MacQuirrie, no longer 'young and inexperienced,' learnt the same lesson at least before 1601, when in a Memorial on the State of Scotland he thus gave forcible expression to his opinion

of the King, which, with the exception of the too sweeping and one-sided statement in the first sentence, is probably not unjust.

'The King,' he writes, 'is not only the cause of all the evils which have afflicted the country during the greater part of his reign, but continues to support, protect, and increase them. His language consists almost entirely of blasphemy or heresy. The single object of his ambition is the Crown of England, which he would gladly take, to all appearance, from the hand of the devil himself, though Catholics and heretic ministers were all ruined alike, so great is his longing for this regal dignity.

'He hates all Catholics, except so far as he can make use of them for the purpose of furthering his design of securing the English Crown. Fear of Catholic ascendancy, or the hope of obtaining the favourite object of his ambition might some day make him a hypocrite, but only a great miracle of God's power and an extraordinary inspiration will ever make him a Catholic in reality.

'He is a determined enemy of the Fathers of our Society, thinking that they are unfriendly to him and that they oppose his claim to the Crown of England. He considers them also causes of discord, sedition, and civil war.

'There are two principal motives for his prejudice against us. First, the recent attempt upon the life of the King of France, which he has been told was made by a disciple of ours; and secondly, a book published in England and supposed to be written by Fr. Persons, in which the King of Scotland's right to the succession to the Crown of England is denied.

'Nevertheless he cannot help seeing that in the course of the changes which are likely to occur, and in the difficult circumstances under which he may very probably be placed, it will be in the power of our Fathers materially to hinder or to assist his plans, and he is therefore secretly desirous to get into our good graces. Mr. Strachan will tell your Paternity all about this, and I hope, God willing, to write to you more fully on the subject another time.'—Forbes-Leith's *Narratives*, p. 270.

It may be that the annoyance and vacillation of the King in the affair of the Blanks proceeded in part from the fact that the independent and precipitate action of the conspirators had spoilt some more cautious negotiations of his own directed to the same quarter, though with a somewhat different object. Readers of Calderwood will have been struck by a single paragraph, headed 'The King privy to the trafficking,' in which the historian writes, 'Mr. John Davidson, in his Diary, recordeth on the 26th May (1593) that among the letters of the traffickers intercepted, was found one to the Prince of Parma, which touched the King with knowledge and approbation of the trafficking and promise of as-

sistance, etc., but that *it was not thought expedient to publish it.* Mr. John was acquaint with the discovery and all the intercepted letters, and made a preface to the printed discovery and a directory for understanding the borrowed and counterfeited names.'*

Nothing is known of this letter, nor does there appear to be elsewhere any evidence of such 'approbation' or 'promise of assistance' on the part of the King. It seems incredible that anything of the sort, especially if given in a written document, should not have been pleaded by the earls, or by Fintry in his extremity. Would the King have dared to proceed to the torture of Kerr if the unfortunate man had been possessed of so damaging a secret? Be this as it may, it now appears that James in the summer of 1592, when the Jesuits and the earls were in the thick of their intrigues, had actually drawn up, not indeed a plan for a Spanish invasion of England, but a memorial carefully weighing, after the judicious manner of Lord Burleigh, the pros and cons of such a project in his own interest. This memorial was originally intended for the use of John Ogilvie, laird of Pourie, (who, at a later period, got into trouble by the pretence or invention of similar secret commissions from the King), but it had fallen—whether with or without the consent of James does not appear—into the hands of George Kerr, upon whom it was found with the Blanks. It is, not improbably, the very paper referred to by Calderwood, misapprehended or coloured by Davidson, under the excitement of the fears and suspicions of the moment. Its existence has been only recently made known by the Commissioners of Historical Manuscripts, who printed it last year in their report of the manuscripts preserved at Hatfield House.† Its novelty and importance justify the reproduction of the text in full.

Certain Reasons which may be used to prove it meet, or unmeet, the executing of this enterprise this summer or not. 1592.

[1592, about June.] This enterprise in head is one of the greatest that ever was, since it is to conquer England, partly by a foreign

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* *History of the Kirk,* Vol. V., p. 250.

† *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Salisbury,* 1892. Part IV., p. 214.

force, and partly by some among themselves. But since all great enterprises ought to be suddenly and resolutely prosecuted, therefore this ought to be executed at farthest in harvest next.

The Reasons Why.

1. All things are in such readiness, both money and men, specially men, that it will be both sumptuous and hard to entertain so great an army all this winter to come.

2. Delay of time will certainly make the Queen of England get intelligence thereof in respect that great enterprises taken in hand by divers princes remaining far sunder, and their army being one part of them in field, and the rest in readiness, will be the cause of the breaking forth of the bruit thereof if time be delayed.

3. It will make the enterprise cold if delay of time be used.

4. Delaying this harvest, it will not be possible to execute that purpose until the next, that corn may be on the ground; whereas so long delay will constrain the army, else listed, to 'skall,' if it were but only for lack of a colour for their holding together.

5. If it be delayed, the King of Spain will be able in the meantime to dip with her for his own particular, which (if it so fell out) it would disappoint the whole enterprise.

6. The Queen of England getting by delay intelligence thereof, she would be moved to stir up in the meantime sedition in the realms whom she feared; as she has oft done for the quieting of her estate; besides the perilling of me so far as in her lay. Whereas, if she were holden occupied that way, she would rather be diligent in keeping her own estate than in the perilling of others.

The Reasons to be objected to the Contrary. Antithesis.

The greatness of the enterprise ought to be a reason that it should be slowly, advisedly, and surely deliberated upon *nam sat cito si sat bene.* Wherefore it cannot be goodly put in execution this harvest next. The reasons whereof are the following:—

1. All things are not in readiness, in respect that this country, which is the chiefest back that the strangers must have, has been in sic disorder this time past by so often rebellions, as it will be scarce possible to get it conquered and settled betwixt this and

spring next. Far less then can it be any help to conquer another in the meantime. And since I can scarce keep myself from some of their invasions, how much less can I make them invade other countries. As also I suppose, notwithstanding that this country had invaded and conquered the other, when I can scarce with my presence contain as yet this country from rebellion, how mickel more shall they rebel in my absence, and then, instead of one, I shall have two countries to conquer both at once.

2. Delay of time will rather keep it secret nor make it open. Because so many strange princes, living so far asunder, having had this matter so long in head, it cannot be but the Queen of England hath gotten some intelligence of it as I am surely informed she hath. Wherefore the best way were to make it secret again, to let the bruit of it (spread abroad already) once die down; and when so it is, it may be thereafter attempted of new, with fewer strange princes on the secret of it and with as mickel or more provision of money.

3. As for making the enterprisers cold in it, surely I would they were, in respect there are over many on the council of it. Wherefore I would think it easier and more honourable to do it only by myself, with some small help of men and money only from foreign parts.

In margin.—This reason answers both the 3rd and 4th.

4. As for the King of Spain's dipping in the meantime, I have answered him else by not thinking him meet to mell any farther in the enterprise, except it were by assisting with money. But, albeit he dipped with her in the meantime for his particular, it could no harm, but rather good two ways; as well for putting her out of suspicion of any other farther meddling, because of his dipping alone, as also by holding her occupied so as she could stir up no sedition in the meantime in other countries.

5. This answers also the 5th and last objection. For if either the bruit of it were died down, or if the King of Spain held her occupied in his own particular, she could by no means harm the countries.

I submit then that, as well in respect of these reasons preceding as also in case it were enterprised and failed, what discouragement and dishonour would it be to all the enterprisers.

What cumber to me and my country being next her, for the proverb is certain, the higher and suddener a man climb, the greater and sorer shall his fall be, if his purpose fail; as surely it is likely this shall do, if it be executed so suddenly as is devised; since both the Queen of England is in expectation of it, as also since the help that is looked for of the most part of the countrymen, will be but scarce while their mistress lives; considering also the nature of the Englishmen, which is ready to mislike of their prince, and consequently easily moved to rebel and free-takers-in-hand, but slow to follow forth and execute, and ready to leave off from [the] time they hear their prince's proclamation, as experience has oft times given proof.

Upon all this then that I have submitted, I conclude that this enterprise cannot be well executed this summer for my unreadiness, for the Queen of England's suspecting of it, and for over many strange princes dealing into it. Wherefore my opinion is, that it die down, as I said before. In the meantime, I will deal with the Queen of England, fair and pleasantly for my title to the crown of England, after her decease, which thing if she grant to (as it is not impossible howbeit unlikely) we have then attained our design without stroke of sword. If by the contrary, then delay makes me to settle in my country in the meantime; and when I like hereafter, I may in a month or two (forewarning of the King of Spain) attain to our purpose, she not suspecting such thing, as now she does. Which if it were so done, it would be a far greater honour to him and me both.

Endorsed:—'Copy of the Scotch King's instructions to Spain which should have been sent by Powry Oge (sic), but thereafter were concredit to Mr. George Kerr, and withdrawn at his taking for safety of his Majesty's honour, 1592.'

This remarkable document speaks for itself. It is to be noted that the editors assign it to 'about June.'* On the 12th of that month James was in receipt of a fresh warning from Elizabeth

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* But perhaps the document should be dated March. For, March 18th, 1592, Bowes reports to Lord Burghley 'the stay of the young laird of Poury Ogilvy from going to Spain,' and 'Mr. George Carr to be sent into Spain by the Papists,' *Cal. S. P., Scotland,* Vol. II., p. 604.

with regard to certain designs taken in hand in Spain to send forces into his realm, and he was in consequence offering excuses to Bowes for his former slackness in the prosecution of the Papists, and making reassuring promises of greater firmness for the future. There is, however, in the memorial no word of giving support to the Catholic cause. It is simply a question of securing the English crown, with the aid of Spanish troops and of the 'enterprisers' at home. These enterprisers are evidently, in the mind of the King, not altogether to be trusted. They appear to give him cause for anxiety, and there are 'too many on the council.' Therefore, says his Majesty, 'I would think it easier and more honourable to do it only for myself, with some small help of men and money from foreign parts.' Yet the document goes far to justify the statements of Fintry and Kerr, and give ground to the suspicions of the clergy and people, that the conspirators 'doubted not the King's consent to their enterprise,' or 'perceived him inclined that way, whereupon they have presumed.' On the other hand, the extraordinary statement made by Father Forbes-Leith, in his 'Narrative of Scottish Catholics,' that James, after the discovery of the Blanks, sometime in 1593, sent the Fathers Gordon and Creighton secretly to Rome, to arrange with the Pope for the restoration of the Catholic religion in Scotland—a statement repeated in the article on Creighton in the 'Dictionary of National Biography'—rests upon an erroneous dating of one of Creighton's letters, and upon an entire misapprehension of the King's situation and policy at the moment.*

Subsequent events led to no further disclosures on the 'mystery' of the Blanks. But while the chief culprits were at large, or unpunished, the King himself was virtually on his trial before the country, and soon became the object of the fiercest denunciations. His northern expedition was an imposing demonstration and little more. A band or covenant was formed at Aberdeen to resist the Papists, cautions for good behaviour were exacted, and a pretence made of seizing certain castles of the Catholic noblemen, who retired untouched and out of reach to the fast-

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* See a note upon 'William Creighton,' by the present writer, in the current number of the 'English Historical Review.'

nesses of Caithness. The King returned to Edinburgh on the 10th of March, to find there Lord Burgh, who had been despatched as a special ambassador from the Queen of England, in the vain hope of urging upon the King a declaration of war with Spain. In June, George Kerr, by bribing his keeper, effected his escape from Edinburgh Castle. At this there was a fresh outburst of indignation. It is stated by a contemporary Catholic writer, that Kerr, before his escape, had made a recantation of his confession, and that shortly afterwards he confirmed this recantation before a judge and notary at Lanark.* The clergy held more meetings, made more protests and remonstrances, and in the pulpit 'laid all the blame of the disorders upon the King.'

Bothwell assumed a threatening attitude. A Parliament from which stringent measures were expected was held in July. Bothwell was 'forfeited,' but practically nothing was done for the suppression of the Catholic earls. The King explained to the Commissioners of the Kirk that his advocate, Mr. David MacGill, had pronounced his opinion that the earls could not be forfeited for lack of evidence, an excuse which James repeated in a letter to Elizabeth, adding that he found from private interviews with his nobles that they would not consent to such forfeiture. Mr. John Davidson therefore denounced this 'black parliament,' and prayed the Lord to convert the King by some 'sanctified plagues.' A plague came soon enough in the person of this same irrepressible Bothwell, who on July 24th, burst, with his companions, sword in hand, into the presence of the King at Holyrood, made him virtually his prisoner, and finally obtained a fictitious trial and acquittal, and a reconciliation on his own terms. In September the clergy of the Synod of Fife still further irritated James by

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* '*Vera narratio ingentis et miraculi plenæ victoriæ apud Avinum in Scotiæ borealibus partibus, et 5 Nonas Octobris, 1594.*' MS. in Advocates' Library, of which an abridged translation is given in Dalzell's *Scottish Poems*, I., 136. But on the other hand, the anonymous author of the *Apologie and Defence of the King of Scotland*, attributed to Father Creighton himself, admits the treason and indeed justifies the King's treatment of the rebels. The *Apologie*, with other inedited pieces bearing on the policy of James towards the Catholics, is in course of publication in a volume of miscellanies by the Scottish History Society.

taking upon themselves to excommunicate the Catholic earls, and in October Bothwell and his adherents had again risen in arms. While the King was in progress to suppress disorders in the south, the three excommunicated earls threw themselves at his feet on the road near Fala, protested their innocence of the Blanks or of any conspiracy to bring in foreign forces, but asserted their fidelity to their creed, and demanded a fair trial. They were bidden to put themselves in ward at Perth, and there await their trial. They had meanwhile summoned their adherents to assemble in arms for the occasion. The clergy, convened in Edinburgh, earnestly petitioned the King that the promised trial should be real and not a pretence, and that the rebel earls should be more strictly guarded. While the King cautiously temporized in the interests of peace, and from time to time changed his plans as to place and mode of the trial, the clergy and citizens of Edinburgh resolved that there should be an armed force on their own side to enforce justice; and civil war was imminent. Finally, the King and his Councillors, seeing the danger of any extreme course, baffled and amazed the clergy by the 'Act of Abolition' (Nov. 26). Toleration of popery was put out of the question, but the three earls, with Gordon of Auchendoun and Sir John Chisholm, were pronounced 'free and unaccusable all time coming' of the crimes with which they had been charged; and all proceedings against them were annulled, on condition that they either retaining their estates embraced Presbyterianism, or retaining their faith, went into exile. They were given till the following first of January to make up their minds. Upon this there is a fresh outcry, more bitter letters from Elizabeth, who 'rues her sight to see so evident a spectacle of a seduced King,' abusing counsel and guiding awry his kingdom,' and renewed intrigues with Bothwell and the fighting party of Protestants. Mr. Bruce preached (13 Dec.) that 'the King's reign should be short and troublesome if he did not abolish the Act of Abolition.' Early in January Lord Zouch came, as Lord Burgh had come before, on an especial embassy from England, but meanwhile the three earls had lost the benefit, such as it was, of the Act, by their contemptuous rejection of its conditions. Parliament was summoned to meet in April to deal with the crisis. Procla-

mation was made that the lieges should accompany the King in pursuit of Bothwell, who was now, secretly aided by Elizabeth, posing more than before as the champion of the Kirk. Mr. Bruce again threatened from the pulpit: 'Howbeit Bothwell was out of the way, the King would never want a particular enemy till he fought the Lord's battles against the wicked: the Lord Bothwell had taken the protection of a good cause, at least the pretence thereof, to the King's shame.' On April 3rd occurred the 'Raid of Leith,' the last serious outbreak of this formidable madman. He announced his intention of having the King's Councillors banished, because, 'by their means, the amity between England and Scotland was endangered, mass priests suffered to wander through the country for the surety of the Spaniard who was shortly to arrive.' He advanced upon Edinburgh at the head of 600 horse, with loud shouts of 'God and the Kirk,' but, after a slight skirmish, retired before the superior forces of the King, and eventually, to the disgust of his former friends, entered into close alliance with the Catholic earls.

At the moment of the Raid of Leith James had penitently protested, in the Church of St. Giles, 'If the Lord give me victory over Bothwell, I shall never rest till I pass upon Huntly and the excommunicated Lords.' Six days afterwards he issued a proclamation for a general muster at Dundee and Aberdeen, and it seemed as if at last he was to be goaded into action. It was not, however, till the middle of July that a daring move on the part of Huntly and his friends brought matters to a head. On the 16th of that month a Spanish ship, from which Father Gordon had just been permitted to land in safety, was seized at Aberdeen, together with some English priests, and the papal Nuncio, Sampiretti, who was the bearer of a large sum of money from the Pope to the rebel earls. Angus and Errol, followed by Huntly with a body of horsemen, came down upon the city, and, under threat of instantly committing it to the flames, compelled the magistrates to deliver up the prisoners and their goods. It was impossible for the King to overlook such an overt act of rebellion. The young Earl of Argyll was appointed Lord-lieutenant of

the North, and given commission to pursue the insurgents with fire and sword, while the King more leisurely collected an army in the south. Argyll with seven or eight thousand men encountered the superior forces of Huntly and Errol, who were supported by a strong body of cavalry and the ministrations of several Jesuits, at the battle of Glenlivet, or Balrinnes, in Banffshire.* Argyll was completely routed, but James now hastened forward with his levies; and the rebels, who had suffered much, and who, moreover, were always anxious to avoid a direct conflict with the King, once more fled to 'their lurking holes in Caithness,' while James had to be content with demolishing their castles and proclaiming a moral victory. The terms of the strange league between Bothwell and the Catholics soon leaked out. James was to have been put into perpetual imprisonment, the prince crowned in his place, and Huntly, Errol and Angus, appointed regents. But any real danger from the Catholic earls had now passed away, though their name continued to inspire fear among the ministers for many years to come. In March, 1595, Huntly and Errol were compelled to go into exile, while Bothwell, in poverty and disgrace, made his escape to France. The two exiled earls were, however, back in Scotland in September 1596. They saved their lands, but lost something of their courage and fidelity to their creed. In June of the following year, at Aberdeen, they openly confessed their apostasy from the Kirk, hypocritically recanted their errors, and with unusual pomp of ceremony, and amid much popular rejoicing and festivity, were solemnly absolved from their excommunication.

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* The relative numbers engaged are, however, variously estimated.

Art. II.—THE ROMANCE OF KING ROTHER.

IN the *Scottish Review* of July, 1892, we presented our readers with a sketch of the mediæval romance of 'Orendel,' which gives a history of the Holy Coat of Treves, differing widely from the authorized story of that relic; and we then gave some account of the class of poets called Spielmänner, to whom that romance and several others of a similar nature are due. No English word is a good translation of the German 'Spielmann;' 'gleeman,' which is used in the English version of Scherer's 'German Literature,' is much too narrow, for the Spielmann of the 12th century was much more than a singer of songs and a joker. He was not only the musician of his age in Germany, he was also its newspaper, for he was expected to know all that was going on in every part of the world. He dramatised his news as he told them, supplying the place of our theatre; he wove them into poems, which by their lively and entertaining character, by their jokes and by their obvious morals, represent to us most vividly how they came into being, at the hands of men doing their best to entertain gaping crowds. He sang his poems, it is true, to the accompaniment of various simple instruments, but to the art of the musician and that of the joker he added many others.

A good account of the Spielmen is given by Professor Paul Piper in the first part of 'Die Spielmannsdichtung;' Berlin and Stuttgart (Vol. 98 of Kürschner's National-Litteratur).* It is only, however, by reading the works themselves that we can get a satisfactory view of these notable people. As we read these rapid lines, almost each of which introduces a new incident, and in which pathetic cadences familiar to the readers of Wagner ring, from time to time, a deeper note, we see, with a little imagination, a story-teller at work, who in the mere work of telling his story, has few superiors anywhere in literature. He has his literary stock-in-trade, his standing epithets not always equally appropriate any more than such epithets are

* A good summary of the subject by J. Vogt, in a small tract, Leben und Dichten der deutschen Spielleute im Mittelalter, 1876.

in Homer, his small stock of rhymes or of rude assonances; his appeal to a book, which is his authority for all he relates, but which evidently is a book of his own imagination. He is rich in suitable reflections, and tells us at each turn in the story how the heroes felt; or he will bid us look forward to a change in their fortunes. He speaks in a disparaging style of his own class, and will tell us in the frankest way how frightened the Spielmann was, or how soundly and deservedly he was whipped. His favourite virtue is generosity; his hero is always an open-handed hero, and the Spielmann meets with rewards at his hands which in real life perhaps he received but seldom. Dr. Piper can scarcely find words to express how loose the morals of these singers were, and how little elevation is to be noticed in their works. In the church virtues they certainly are deficient; when we find praise of celibacy or of the religious life, or any statements of doctrine, we know at once that it is not the voice of the Spielmann, but that of his churchly successor and editor that we hear. The Spielmann, as such, is of the world, not of the church, and it will be the virtues of the natural man of that age in Germany, not those of the German as fashioned by the church, that we shall discover in him. This makes him a witness of great value for the history of his times. We learn from him what was popular among the people he addressed, what these people understood, what they were ignorant of, what jokes they appreciated, what virtues they admired when left to themselves. And looked at in this way, the Spielmann, while he tells us of an age in which manners were far from refined, in which rudeness and cruelty could be laughed at, and a clever trick was sure to be approved, certainly does not tell of an age wanting in respect for such moral standards as it knew. The Spielmann is never licentious; he is rough and frank, his ladies behave as a lady could not behave now; but he has in his mind the sound morality of a healthy people, and he has breathed to some extent the breath of chivalry, and knows the meaning of discipline and what is required by knightly honour. It cannot be claimed for these poets that they represent the highest ideas of their time. That would be an unreasonable demand to make upon men who lived for the amusement of the public. Their gravest fault is supple-

ness and want of self-respect. Even their heroes are far from truthful. It is sufficient justification for calling attention to these rhymers that they carried the art of story-telling to great perfection, and that they give us a faithful mirror of the common life and the ordinary ways of thinking of their day.

The romance of 'King Rother,' of which we are now to give the reader some account, is a finer and more serious work than 'Orendel,' and is probably the best of all the Spielmann poems. There is less of the wild bringing together of personages from opposite ends of the earth, and different ages of history, which we noticed in the former case. The theme is a natural one, it might almost be said a historical one, and is worked out in a natural way without supernatural interference. The central and the original theme is the wooing by a king of a maid in a distant land beyond the sea, a wooing 'begun in craft and ended in force.' To this two other themes are added. Prefixed to it is the story of an embassy sent by the same king for his bride, which leads to the imprisonment of the envoys, so that the king himself has to set out for their deliverance. Appended to it is the story how the king's new-won wife was carried off from his land while he was absent, and how he had to sail across the sea to bring her home again. The poem however is a unity as it stands, though it presents many repetitions and inconsistencies to show that it is woven together out of various materials. The latest editor holds that it would be a vain attempt to endeavour to separate these from each other.*

As for the materials which entered into the composition of this poem, a number of facts are clear. The story of the wooing is unmistakably in many points identical with that found in the Icelandic Thidrek-saga. Thidrek is the same as Dieterich, and when the Icelandic Osantrix takes the alias of Thidrek for his wooing, while Rother in the same circumstances calls himself Dieterich, we have evidently the same materials before us.† Osantrix sends messengers to woo for him, he has a party of

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* *König Rother.* Herausgegeben von K. v. Bahder, Halle, 1884.

† In Rother the name is generally written Thiederich, the H. G. form, but in many places we find Dieterich.

giants in his retinue, one of whom, Widolt, is led by a chain, and only loosed to enter battle; and he also appearing before his lady-love under an assumed name, makes himself known to her when fitting on her feet a gold and a silver shoe. All these incidents occur though with many changes and adornments, in Rother also. Is the German story borrowed from the Icelandic, or the Icelandic from the German, or are they independent developments of the same old theme? Each of these theories has its advocates.

The German story is named apparently after Rothari, who was King of the Lombards in Italy from 614 to 650, and who drew up for that somewhat barbarous people a code of laws. It is owing to the ideas of the 12th century in Germany that he is here made a German Emperor of the Roman Empire, and the grandfather of Charlemagne. It is the Spielmann too who transposed the scene of his wooing to the east, the Spielmen loved to place their stories in the wonderful half-known lands of the Crusades. Several of the heroes in the piece belong to Bavaria; it is for that land that the poem was composed. Now in the year 1101 a Bavarian duke was at Constantinople on a crusade; the Emperor Alexius, who then held the Eastern Empire, is the prototype of the weak Constantine of Rother. It is curious to find that a domestic lion was killed at the Court there by one of the crusaders, as in the poem; and the Bavarians had to fight in Asia Minor, much as the poem relates, though the real fighting was less successful.

While Bavaria is the country in which the poet is most interested, there are signs that he was also connected with Franconia and the lower Rhine, and his dialect is that of the Rhine, though that of Upper Germany also appears. Rhenish saints are invoked, and Rother has a close connection with Aix-la-Chapelle. The date is variously fixed, from considerations of the history of the metres and the language, as well as from historical indications, at 1140, or twenty years later.

A Heidleberg MS. preserves nearly the whole poem; there are also fragments of parts of it. The poem consists of 5,200 lines.

We have endeavoured to present the story in such a way as not to lose the liveliness and quickness of the original, and especially to give the points that are specially illustrative of

mediæval manners and modes of thought. It is our hope that some scholar who can give the subject a more thorough treatment than any in our power may find Rother attractive, and give it in a worthy manner to the English reader.

I.

'On the Western Sea* there dwelt a King, whose name was Rother; in the town of Bari,† there in truth he dwelt with great renown. Other lords did him service; two and seventy kings, men of both valour and piety, were under him. He was the greatest King who was ever crowned‡ at Rome.

'Such a great lord was Rother; all he did was full of honour and all was seemly at his court. The books do not lie in this, that no good thing was wanting to him save that he was unwed.'

Of this, the young nobles at his court would frequently discourse, and all agreed that he should take a wife fit for him to marry; for should he die without heirs, that would be a fatal thing for them; 'to whom would they then give the crowns at Rome?'

With these views Rother is fully agreed, bnt he knows no lady who would please him well enough and whom they would all praise. One of the counts comes forward to reply to this. Liupolt, a knight brought up at the court, and accustomed to serve the King both in small things and great, the most faithful servant any King of Rome ever had, gave a voice to the general opinion of the courtiers.

'I know, eastward, over the sea, the illustrious daughter of a wealthy King, in the famous Castle at Constantinople. Constantine is her father's name; his daughter is fair, she shines as do the stars from heaven, she outshines other women as gold outshines silk; so small is her waist that she would well adorn a lord, and so noble is her birth that she is fit for a King. Yet God knows it is a hard case about her, for never a man sued for her hand but he lost his life for it.' §

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* The Adriatic.

† This town, formerly of little importance, became the residence of a Viceroy in the tenth century.

‡ Literally received the crowns.

§ These restrictions on the wooing of the heroine are frequent in old story. In the Spielman tales the explanation is sometimes found that the father himself, who is always a heathen, intends to marry her.

Rother at once enters into this proposal and considers who shall be his envoy to ask for the maid's hand. As Liupolt is so faithful and loyal to the King, and seems to have all the necessary information, he is thought to be the best person to undertake the embassy; he is sent for, and is asked with elaborate courtesy if he will accept this office. He consents, and proposes that eleven counts should be his associates, each of them served by twelve knights, and all apparelled so as to present themselves worthily before a King. Of counts to join the embassy there is no lack, so strongly had Rother, by his habitual generosity, secured to himself the hearts of all his courtiers. Liupolt's young brother Erwin becomes a knight and assumes the sword on this occasion, and there is a glowing description of the horses and caparisons of the party.

'The ships were now prepared; Liupolt, brave hero, was eager to leave the shore; but the King bade him be still, and caused a harp to be brought. A sign he thought to give them, which he made use of afterwards. The lords he bade to go up and stand on the ships and then he played three airs, which afterwards they knew well. Then spake the good lord: "should you ever be in grievous straits, when you hear these three airs, be sure I am at hand." Of this many a man was glad, who came since then into great extremity. Then they raised their cry and left the shore; eia, how the sails whistled when they floated on the stream! Then sailed they to the sea;* and King Rother stood and prayed God, the rich and good, of his compassion to send them home again to land, vowing to give them rich rewards, in money or great estates, when they had accomplished their errand.'

Then the envoys sailed far upon the sea to Constantinople in Greece. Going on shore, they found a merchant, who, for the mantle they gave him, agreed to watch the ships for three days while they were absent. Then follows a description of their splendid raiment; it was of silk and velvet, shining with jewelled clasps and ornaments of gold. Each count is followed by his twelve knights, marching in order, and taking the greatest care of their dresses; and no wonder there was a talking and a staring on the part of the ladies of Constantinople at such a sight. The Queen in particular is much impressed, and urges on the

* The Spielmen are very ignorant of nautical matters; they always describe an embarking as taking place up a river, with some distance to be traversed before the sea is reached.

King that the sender of such an embassy must be a great man indeed, and that a different treatment from that given to former messengers, should be extended to these new comers. The first reception of the envoys answered to her desires, astonishment still growing in the court at their magnificence. Liupolt asks leave to state his errand, magnifying his master and extolling the splendour of the court at home with its multitude of warriors and courtiers, its music, its fowling, and also its discipline and virtue. He is allowed to do so, names Rother and predicts a happy life with him for the Greek princess, should God so allow. Constantine however is thrown into a passion by the request; he says he would as soon send his daughter to Rother as to any one, but states that it is his practice in such cases to put the suitors to death. He will not go so far in this instance, but the envoys are all to be put in prison, never again to see their master's kingdom.

The prison is described where they remained for many a day, and—

'Never saw the sun, not one of them, nor the moon so bright. Little joy had they in a place where there was naught but frost and damp. Ah! what they suffered; they had hunger and need; they were nearly dead. Those who at home had plenty refreshed themselves with the water that lay in a pool at their feet. There wept many a man and had great sorrow and none to comfort him.'

They thought of their wives who no doubt mourned for them, and of their estates falling into other hands. 'But the good God helped them afterwards of his compassion, so that they all came safe home.'

The King bids his people go out to the ships to see the treasures in them: brooches and rings were there which the envoys had brought for the ladies, five thousand bracelets intended for parting gifts, horse-cloths and banners, and coloured tents adorned with gold and full of gifts. All this the King handed over to his chamberlain to keep with care, making good any deficiencies, so that it might be forthcoming when required, and nothing wanting.

Now it was a year and a day that many a man was lying there in the dungeon in great distress, and Rother too at home mourned

greatly for his good servants, wringing his hands and thinking of every plan for finding out where they lay. To him came his old counsellors, and friends of the absent ones came too, who wept full sore and begged him to tell them if their friends were still alive. Rother sat on a stone three days and three nights and spoke to no one, but considered in his mind how he might go to Greece where he had sent his noble messengers. Then he sent for Berchter, an aged counsellor, Count of Meran,* and asked him how he was to carry out his design, for if God has permitted Constantine to cut off the heads of his messengers he cannot remain on Roman soil but must at once set off to seek for vengeance. Berchter proceeds to speak of his sons, of whom there had been eleven. One had perished fighting against the heathen Wends beyond the Elbe; him he cannot forget. In the present embassy seven of his sons are engaged.

'Ah that ever I was born, unhappy that I am! What dear children I have lost! Liupolt and Erwin were my most noble sons; not to speak of the five, for these two I can never cease to mourn. Rother, my dear lord, this now shall be my counsel; we will set sail with an army, and you shall fight both the Huns and the Greeks. I will furnish a thousand knights, for I mourn exceedingly for my dear children.'

Rother praises his counsel but wishes that other counsellors too should be called in. It seems to him that a warlike expedition should be preceded by some enquiry; the approach of an army might be the signal for the death of the messengers.† Other advisers therefore are summoned, and walk up and down in front of the chambers discussing the matter. Their advice when formed is that Rother should cross the sea, not at the head of an army, but as an adventurer, as a private person; and that he should carry with him great store of the gold and treasure which is laid up in great abundance in the royal treasury. An old duke who gives the cowardly advice not to take any more trouble about the messengers, is treated by Berchter, anxious for his sons, in such a way that he lies three days and three nights without either speech or hearing.

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* Meran answers to Croatia and Dalmatia.

† Here the oldest story is to be introduced: the join is not very cleverly concealed.

II.

The counsel of the lords is taken, and Rother's measures shew that his expedition if not of a public character is not to be without magnificence. Messengers are sent in all directions to ask for assistance. Among those who came to help the King was the giant Asprian, who usually never came to court at all. He was so great of stature that no horse could carry him, and he bore a steel spear four and twenty ells long. Among the two and seventy kings who obeyed the King's summons, the appearance of Asprian and his huge followers, for he was the leader of a band of giants, created great surprise. Berchter advises the King to receive them kindly, and make much of them, for with such a bodyguard he must needs be invincible. Rother makes known to them his plan, of which it now appears to be part that he is to assume another name during this expedition. The question of a vice-regency during his absence has to be settled; Berchter declines the office, on grounds which are not very intelligible, and it is given to Amelger of Tengelingen.*

The expedition is now prepared to sail; Rother is accompanied by twelve dukes, each of whom has two hundred knights. Asprian has with him twelve giants, among them one, named Witolt, who is so savage that he is bound with a chain like a travelling bear, but who is described at the same time as a faithful and loving follower of his master, and a right good knight.

The fleet set sail from Bari, richly laden with gold, velvet and fine fabrics, and with treasures of every kind. Before the start smiths were set to work to make of gold whatever kind of jeweller's work any of the knights desired. 'Never till Domesday will such wonders be wrought again.' They pushed off from the shore, hoisted the sails, and sailed to Constantinople the famous city. 'The King then thought of a wise device; he spoke to all the lords at once; we are going to a strange land, and it is no child's play that I am going to tell you. We must think of clever wiles to protect our lives, and I beseech you all alike, both rich and poor, call me Dieterich (here spelt Thiderich), so that none of the foreigners may know on what errand I am come.

* An old Bavarian family.

This they swore they would do. At their landing there is a great concourse of the citizens of Constantinople to see so distinguished an arrival.

'Then began the giants at once to fight on the sand. There was a flight from there; many a one was so bent on escaping, that he waited not for his fellow. Then came one in haste before the wealthy King, and spoke, alas, King Constantine, where can this people have come from? Such force they have that no one ever saw the like. Then spoke the Queen and said, Tell us what manner of men they are. Then said the townsman: Why should you ask me that? For there was a great part of us that never rightly saw the ship at all, we were afraid of the fearful people, little could we look at them. One of them is bound to restrain his wrath; we should have been lost. What the ships are loaded with I cannot tell, except it be with iron poles, great and long.'

The newcomers leave Witolt to guard their ships, and make a procession, with snow-white mules, such as are expensive in Greece, and many an apple-gray war-horse, their clothes and jewels a gallant show, and the giants accompanying them in battle-array. Constantine asks his counsellors what is to be thought of all this, and they consider that the masters of the envoys who have so long been left in the dungeon have probably now come to seek them; Constantine, by treating the envoys as he did, 'has played the devil with his land.'

On Easter-day, Constantine has a great assemblage of guests at the Poderamus court,* and Dietrich and his men also present themselves. There is a great show of courtesy to the strangers. Asprian is there, and two counts who come forward to relieve him of his spear, find it too heavy for them, and leave it lying on the ground. Dieterich comes forward to tell his story. He has come to Constantine, he says, on account of what he has heard of his goodness, to place himself under his protection. He has been banished by Rother, a mighty and irresistible King who rules beyond the sea, and is driven to offer his allegiance to Constantine; his only alternative is to go back and pay to Rother the forfeit of his life. As Dieterich spoke Asprian stamped on the ground so that his foot entered it up to the knee. Constantine consults with the best of his 'magi;' whatever is he

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* The Hippodrome.

to do with this banished man? 'Grieved I am that he ever came here; these followers of his are furious gentlemen—a sad want of manners; there stands one and kicks, he would be in his right place in hell as a companion for the devil.' The magi are under the same impressions, and urge that Dieterich should be treated with fair words. Constantine's answer to Dieterich and what immediately follows are very amusing. The poor wanderer it is professed, does not appeal in vain to the Greek King, and if he submits himself to Constantine and looks for good at his hands, it shall be well with him. If there was hesitation in saying this, it was due to the suspicion that Dieterich was a suitor for Constantine's handsome and well-educated daughter.

'Such a suitor was Rother who banished thee across the sea; but him I subdued, his messengers are here in my dungeon, he sees them never more. Among them were two men such as an Emperor might be glad to have with him, and many a bold hero was with them. When Asprian heard this speech he began to handle his shield and called for his armour. He spoke: "We are being insulted here; you think my master a poor fellow, but you shall see. Rother sent good servants to this land, and if they were made prisoners of, he may be able to avenge that. Now we are here before you, but before we are bound, God knows some shall die for it, if my spear do not break in my hand." Quickly he stepped up to the ring. Then Constantine spoke to him: "Sir, there is no need you should be angry; no one sought to insult you. The speech I uttered, do not take it ill, my men made me drunk, so that I appear as a fool to-day, and can answer no one aright." At this Asprian was appeased.'

Dieterich's company are lodged near the gate, and not divided from each other. Their treasures are brought up from the ships to their lodgings in a way to increase the sensation connected with them among the town's people; the giants guard it, knocking great stones together which they hold in their hands, and the opinion grows even at court that this is the devil's brood. Even the Queen is subject to these impressions, and remonstrates with Constantine at having refused his daughter to a king who could banish such persons. The good treatment of the guests she attributes more to fear than kindness, and she pushes the freedom of a spouse so far as to tell Constantine that when he pretended to be drunk, his behaviour was not worthy of a king. The knights come to the court, Dieterich especially

attired with great splendour, and there is a great banquet at which the man supposed to be banished is accompanied by a thousand of his knights, and the stewards are kept very busy. A lion comes to the table, a creature not sufficiently domesticated for such a situation, since every one is afraid of him, and he begins to make free with the food on the table. This Asprian cannot stand; he seized the animal and dashed it against the wall, so as to kill it.* This added to the consternation with which the new guests were regarded at court; 'we must not meddle with his food,' the courtiers said, 'else he will dash us against the wall.' The queen, however, who no doubt had suffered from the tricks of the lion before, is glad it is disposed of, and tells the king so with much frankness, adding reflections on his folly in treating as he has done the messengers of such a potentate as Rother undoubtedly must be, and urging him even now to set free those hardly used captives, and clothe them decently so that they may return to their master. This the king stoutly declares that he will never do; and he remains silent when the queen appeals to broader motives of humanity, and urges that the messengers, like the king himself, are sprung from Adam, and that their sufferings are too pitiable to be allowed to continue.

Berchter sees how the queen is inclined, and in what a state of terror the courtiers are, and advises Dieterich to leave the table, which he does, alleging that the people in his quarters cannot do without him. Constantine allows him to go, but advises him in future to keep his people in better order; which Asprian hearing, and knowing what is meant, says, 'Sir, I was driven to it; your bear's cub was taking my bread.' †

Now begins the execution of the plan which, though not hitherto mentioned, was no doubt pointed at when Rother decided to go to Constantinople not as a king but as a private individual seeking his fortune. After leaving the coast he remains for a fortnight in his lodgings as if unwell, and at this

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* This incident is historical. See introductory remarks, p. 33.

† The uneducated German of that period did not know the lion by sight, but knew the bear.

time all the poor and all the broken men began to seek him out, and to find that he received them handsomely. He kept open house and free table for all, where men oppressed with care and poverty could eat and drink of the best. The next step was that all who knew anything of knighthood were furnished with horses and fur garments, 'and with the horses steel rings, so that no one could carry them off with his sword.' Swords were bound to their waists, and banners placed in their hands, and they gladly entered Dieterich's service. A troop of knights in rags comes after this, fearing to be too late in applying, but these also are treated in the kindest way, and restored in the service of this new master to the ranks of chivalry. Dieterich's followers now number six thousand. In full detail it is now told how Count Arnold, a man reduced to poverty and driven from his country by war, and reduced, with his relatives who fled with him, to rags and misery, was directed to Dieterich, and handsomely set up by him in money and lodgings. Going to court, he tells of this kind treatment, and the queen draws from this also her favourite moral in favour of Rother, who if he could banish Dieterich must be a good match for her daughter. Constantine's own courtiers begin to find their way to Dieterich, who receives them with his usual generosity, and receives in turn their favour and praise. They all want to enter his service and compare him with Constantine, much to the latter's disadvantage.

No wonder that the ladies of the court feel a strong interest in the stranger. The princess, unconscious origin of all these movements, conceives a strong desire to see him, and consults with Herlint, her old nurse, how this may be brought about. On the advice of the latter, she urges her father to have an 'at home' at Pentecost, and to have all his knights at it, so that people may see how rich he is. 'I don't see what a prince is for if there is not some stir and some happiness about his court.' Then spoke King Constantine, 'Well to thee, daughter, that thou livest; how thou ever strivest after honour, and advisest what is best.' And the tournament is determined on. Under a somewhat categorical summons, not unadorned with threats, the chivalry of the kingdom came together, all in the finest array, with plentiful gold ornaments. There assembled at the Podera-

mus court sixteen dukes and thirty earls; a cheerful life they led there, and enjoyed Constantine's good things, as has been done under many another master.

The stewards of the various lords prepare accommodation for their masters, and Asprian sets for Dieterich a chair with ivory legs and adorned with jewels. He gets into a dispute with the steward of a duke, Friderich, who wants more space for his master, calls Asprian a great 'bulgan,'* and orders him to make room. Asprian gives this worthy a box on the ear, which breaks his head, and in the uproar which ensues, Widolt, the giant on the chain, breaks loose and lays about him with his iron pole in a fatal manner.

'As the strife goes on, a gleeman brings news of it to Constantine. The holy Christ knows, I tell you of it truly, one of them gave out blows with the longest rod I ever saw with these eyes, till they took it out of his hand. All are alike to him, he abuses them fearfully. Glad am I that I got off so soon, and yet he threw me over four men, my feet never touched the ground. I was standing in his light, he did not require me where I was.'

Widolt, who has torn Duke Friderich's helmet off his head, is chained up again. Constantine proposes that Dieterich should hold an enquiry, and judge his followers for their disorderly conduct, and the hero is willing to do this, but Duke Friderich asks that the matter go no further, and says the offence has been exaggerated. Constantine deplores the occurrence to his queen, and declares that he feels himself disgraced by it, but she only preaches from this text the old discourse about Rother and the folly of having refused his alliance. Constantine now sends for his daughter, who comes with a hundred maids all splendidly attired and bejewelled, the young queen herself adorned with a golden crown. Dieterich's men too were gorgeously attired, he himself wore a splendid carbuncle, the gift to Asprian of the Flat-feet, a mythical people of these times.† The sight of Dietrich in his festal array made an impression on the princess from which she was not soon to recover. For three days the festival went on;

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* Apulian, a term of reproach, something like 'boor, countryman,' in the Middle Ages.

† See the Spielmann romance of 'Duke Ernst.'

the wandering folk came there to Dieterich's table and were well treated by him; he gave his splendid mantle to a poor Spielmann, and his followers imitated his liberality till there were no mantles left among them. The feast came to an end and every one went home, Dieterich and his company to the inn where they were quartered. Many visitors come to the royal apartments, and every one speaks of Dieterich and his apparel. Hearing so much about him, the princess thinks of him the more, and is now fairly in love with him. The advances she makes to him, and his treatment of them, form the most romantic episode of 'Rother,' and deserve to be given in full :—

'In the chamber it was still. Then spoke the Queen : "Alas Dame Herlint, how great is my concern about Lord Dieterich ! Gladly would I speak to him secretly, did propriety allow of such a thing with a man of virtue as he is. Five armbands would I bestow on any messenger who would bring the hero to speak to me." "In truth," said Herlint, "I will go myself ; be it ill or well I will go to his inn; and yet his manners are so strict that nothing ill can come of it." Straight went she to her room and took her best garments, such as every woman has; in them she adorned herself ; so went the crafty woman to Lord Dieterich ; and he received her with dignity. Close to him she sat, and spoke in his ear : "My lady, the Queen, offers you her love and friendship, and asks you to go to her. She will herself receive you, so as your honour allows. Truth sir, you may rely on this from my young mistress." Then spoke Dieterich : "Woman, you do wrong to me, a helpless man. Why do you make me your jest ? but so it happens ever to the friendless. Your lady never thought of what you say. There are dukes and princes enough about the court, one of them you might have made your sport. You deserve the very pit, that you seek to make a fool of me, and yet I am not quite so poor, a rich earl am I at home."' *

'Herlint then addressed him (well could she arrange her words) : "Oh, no, Lord Dieterich, think not so ill of me. My lady did bid me come. She is surprised that you have been so many an hour in the court and never would look at her. Odd is such behaviour in a stately knight. If you went to her you would not do ill." Dieterich rejoined (he saw she was in earnest). "There are too many eyes here, he whowould preserve his honour must walk warily ; however well a man may do, yet will fault be found with him. Now tell your lady I am at her service, but I must not come to her for fear

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* This assertion of rank in spite of apparent poverty does not agree well with Dieterich's former lavish expenditure, and may point to a different version of the story.

of men's ill judgments. Ill would it sound of both of us. Constantine would forbid me his kingdom, and I should still have to flee from Rother and find no shelter anywhere."'

Herlint was going off, but he bade her wait, and caused his goldsmiths at once to cast two silver shoes (how they hastened their work!) and two of gold. Asprian was to give her one of each, both for the same foot, and a fine mantle, and twelve gold armbands. 'So must we treat the messenger of a queen.' Herlint repeats to her mistress that Dieterich is afraid of Constantine, and will on no account come to her. She shows her presents, and tells how agreeable the hero was to her and how she stared at him. The princess offers to buy the shoes for as much gold as it takes to fill them; and this being done, proceeds to try them on, when she finds they are both for the same foot. Nothing will serve her but Herlint must go and ask for the other shoe, and repeat at the same time the request that the hero would speak to the princess. Herlint comes back and gives her message. Dieterich hesitates to cross the court lest he should be seen, but a diversion is arranged (there are two versions of this) the giants exhibit all their arts, and no one sees when Dieterich comes to the princess's door with two knights. She receives him courteously, and expresses a desire to do him any good turn she can consistently with honour. In the meantime she asks him to fit on her shoe.

'Gladly will I do so, said Dieterich, since you ask me. The lord sat at her feet, noble was his bearing, and never was woman better shod. Then spoke the wily man: Tell me now, noble lady, on your faith as a Christian; many a man has sued for your hand; which of them all best pleased you? That I will tell you said the lady; of all the knights who have come here from all countries, there was never one that was your fellow. I will answer for it that never mother bore a child that could properly be placed beside you. In virtue you surpass the rest. But if I am to choose, I will take a hero good and bold, whose messengers came into this land, and now lie in my father's dungeon. His name is Rother, and he rules beyond the western sea. I will never marry any but him.'

The artistic merit of this speech can only be defended if we suppose that the princess has a suspicion of the real state of the case; but this is not directly indicated in any way.

'When Dieterich heard this, then spoke the wily man, "If you wish to make love to Rother, I will soon bring him to you. There is never a man in the world who so befriended me,—and he shall be rewarded for it—till pride overmastered him. In gladness did we live together, and he was ever kind to me, though now he has banished me." "In truth," said the young queen, I understand your drift.. If you are so fond of Rother, then he never banished you. You are his messenger, wherever you came from, you are high in his favour. Now do not conceal the truth from me ; what you tell me to-day, that will be kept secret to the judgment-day. Then spoke the lord to the lady ; "Now I commit myself and all I have to God's grace and thine. Thy foot is in Rother's lap."'

She is frightened and draws back her foot, and modestly apologizes to Rother for her forwardness. He is a master in wiles, she confesses, but of whatever race he is, her heart was sore.* Should he really be Rother, she would follow him at once out of her father's kingdom, but she cannot be sure. Dieterich suggests a plan by which she may satisfy herself as to this. If the poor lords in the dungeon were released, she would see whether they would recognize him as their King. She undertakes to try to effect this, but her father she knows will only release them if some noble will make his life surety for their safe return to captivity. Dieterich promises to undertake the suretyship. She gives him a kiss and he honourably leaves her, to have great rejoicings with Berchter at the turn things are now taking. After a night troubled with many reflections, the princess clothed herself as a pilgrim with black gown and palm, and went to her father's door. She knocks; he opens ; she explains to him that she has had a dream, and that her eternal salvation depends on her taking a pilgrimage to foreign lands. The only way in which she can be relieved from this necessity is that she should do a pious work, that the messengers of Rother should be given her to clothe and tend for three days. She undertakes to find a suitable hostage for their return to prison, and he agrees to the proposal. The hostage is sought at the dinner table, where the princess appears weeping and appealing to the guests to help her. No one will undertake the office, but her appeal to Dieterich to do so, meets with the expected answer.

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* Reading ellende. Another reading is 'hellende,' 'telling it.'

Dieterich proceeds with the royal officers to the dungeon where the wretched wights have all this time been lying in weakness and misery. Berchter stands weeping at the door. When it is opened and the light to which they were so little accustomed shines on the prisoners, Erwin is the first to emerge. His body is 'such as that only of a poor man should be.' Liupolt has nothing but a miserable cloth about his loins. The counts and their knights are black with dirt, a wretched sight they are, and the King has much ado to refrain from weeping. They all go to the King's quarters.

'Then spoke Erwin, "Liupolt, dear lord, do you see a grey-haired man with a fine beard standing there—he looked at me most earnestly. He turned round and wrung his hands; he durst not weep, and yet he never was so sad as he is now. What if the good God of his compassion is minded to work a great sign that we are to get away from here? It is true, brother mine, that surely is our father!" Then they both wept for joy and for sorrow too.'

Still prisoners on parole, they are well treated by Dieterich and Berchter, supplied with suitable raiment, and seated at table to eat and drink, the father serving as steward while his children eat. The princess is also present, having obtained leave of her father.

'While the lords sat there, and when they had somewhat forgotten their sorrows, then took Dieterich a harp, and went unobserved behind the tapestry. How clearly did a strain then sound from there! He who was beginning to drink, his cup began to turn in his hand so that he poured his liquor on the table, and he who was cutting bread, the knife fell from his hand. For gladness they were beside themselves. How many a one then parted with his cares! They sat and listened as the strain rose and fell: loud the music swelled, then Liupolt sprang over the table and count Erwin, they bade him welcome, the rich harper, and kissed him right heartily. How well the lady then could see that he was in truth King Rother!'

The princess orders proclamation to be made that the prisoners are to be treated with respect, and she gets their dungeon cleaned and furnished in a comfortable style. When they went back after the three days expired, they found all sorts of comforts, and both rolls and white bread. Nay, the princess caused a passage to be dug from Dieterich's quarters to the dungeon, and the con-

sequence was that during the twenty days they still remained there, the messengers had a rare time of it and grew quite fat and strong.

A new turn is given to the story at this point. From Babylon in the wilderness* there drew near to Constantinople the greatest warlike armament that ever was seen. This was at the hands of the two and seventy kings of that heathen land; but the chief of them was Ymelot, whose ambition was beyond all bounds. He wished that Constantine should do him homage; he wished, indeed, to have all the kingdoms for his own. In heathendom no one disputed his authority; he even wanted to be God. Simelin was his wife. He afterwards lost his life at Jerusalem. A poor travelling man brings word to Constantine of the approaching danger, estimating the heathen army at a hundred thousand. Dieterich begs Constantine to release the messengers from prison and give them horses and arms, so that they may form a squadron to help him in this war; this is done, all they had brought with them when they first came to the East, being restored to them by the chamberlain to whom it was entrusted, just as before. Each count is followed by his knights, 'glad were they all at that.'

While Constantine's levy has produced in three days an army of fifty thousand, twenty thousand follow the flag of Dieterich. Seven days they march to meet the army of the two and seventy kings, till they see the smoke of the hostile camp. Dieterich occupies the advanced post. At night there are consultations how a bold stroke might be struck so as to win renown. The giants arm themselves and Berchter also causes his men to arm, but on a feigned pretext. They cautiously approach the camp of the enemy, most of the party are left outside, and pretending to be stragglers, and to be bringing up reinforcements, Dieterich and Asprian, with some others, reach the tent of Ymelot, and take prisoner that great potentate, on whom the sight of Asprian's long pole has produced the usual effect. The giants commit great slaughter among the heathens before they can be brought back and Witolt chained up. In the morning Constantine prepares his forces to attack the enemy, and the inactivity of Dieterich's part of the camp is

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* Babylon in Egypt, a Mahommedan centre.

very unfavourably commented on; but on going to call Dieterich to battle, Constantine is greeted by the captive heathen Ymelot, who tells him what has happened during the night, and assures him that the heathens are fleeing and cannot now do him any harm. Dieterich is suitably complimented, and assured that nothing he likes to ask will be refused him. Next morning Dieterich brings the heathen king to Constantine, and suggests that a messenger should be sent to Constantinople to tell the ladies there of the success of the expedition. He himself is sent, for that will please the princess; and he is to announce the speedy return of the king and army. The heavier part of his force he is to leave behind in order to make better speed. All who had crossed the sea from Italy he takes with him. 'Much rejoiced were they thereat.'

Now on his arrival at the city Rother proves himself to be by no means a man of his word. This the reader has no doubt gathered already about the hero of this tale; the knighthood he represents is rather after the type of Ulysses than of Arthur. Instead of delivering the message he had undertaken to bring, he tells the queen that Constantine has been defeated by the heathen, who are in full march on Constantinople, and that all who remain there will without fail be put to death. He is to complete his own escape and that of his men by at once setting sail across the sea. A clamour arises among the women; they all wish to get on board the ships and share his flight. This however is prevented. The whole treasure brought to Constantinople is put hastily on board, and so is the king's daughter, but her mother is left weeping and exclaiming on the shore. Only as the ships are about to move does Dieterich shout to her to be of good cheer, that Constantine is returning a conqueror, and that she is to tell him that her daughter has gone with Rother, never more to be called Dieterich! At this the queen is glad; had she had her way, she says, the princess should have gone with him by gentler means, but she calls out a blessing to the bride, Saint Gilege (Aegidius) is to take care of her. 'Keep you well, mother, mine,' the princess replies; and the queen and her ladies return to the palace with laughter and rejoicing at Rother's good fortune.

At the landing in Bari the queen promises Rother a 'blessed

bairn.' * Changes have taken place in the kingdom; the viceroy Amelger is dead, and there has been an attempt at insurrection, which Wolfrat, Amelger's son, has defeated. There is war in the north, and Rother has to leave Liupolt in charge, and to lead an army through the mountains to Bern,† an expedition in which the unwieldy giants suffered great distress.

Constantine on returning to his capital misses his daughter, and is told by his wife how Rother has carried her off: also that that is the very best thing that could have happened to her, and that any banished man who turned up in future must be more carefully treated. He however is unable to accept these consolations, and falls into bitter weeping and then into sickness. As the citizens go out for plunder, Ymelot is carelessly guarded, and takes advantage of the King's sickness to make off. Back to desert Babylon he goes, 'where many a king has suffered grievous things at his hands.' The lesson Constantine draws from this and his other misfortunes is that he must in future be more open-handed, and seek to gain a stronger hold on his people's affections; the queen is authorized to make large gifts of money to great and small. This excites sympathy for the king, and now a gleeman comes forward with a proposal to relieve his sorrows. He will bring back the king's daughter. Only let a ship be freighted with all kinds of precious merchandise, gold, silver, pearls, scarlet and furs, so as to open a great sale on the coast of Italy, and let 60 knights be concealed in her; then the lady will be enticed on board, and carried off. The ship is prepared accordingly, and sets sail.

When it arrives at Bari, Rother is away in the Rhine-country‡ contending with his enemies, and executing judgment for the widow and the orphan. The queen is at home. The first thing the gleeman does on arrival is to gather some pebbles from the beach, and to place them beside his costly wares. When the citizens of Bari come to buy they are surprised at his manner of doing business; when they ask the price of jewellery, furs or

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* Of this child nothing more is heard.

† Is this Verona here?

‡ Riflanden, *i.g.*, Ripuaria.

other precious articles, he has but one answer: each article in his store costs a penny. At this rate he does a brisk trade. One of the customers however notices the pebbles, and asking about them is told that such a stone is not to be sold for less than a thousand pounds. 'What a liar he is,' they say; 'common stones off the beach!' But he rejoins, 'I will tell you the secret of this stone; it is not too dear. Let a queen take it in her hand, and it will shine over the whole land, with such effect that no one will die there. If a man appears about to die, just rub him with this stone thrice, before he is buried, and he will live and be quite well. The halt and maimed it will cure at once if the queen touch them with it; but there is one condition, she must do it on board this ship.'

A knight, a man of influence at Bari, has two children who have been lying sick for a year, and asks if the stone will cure them. Undoubtedly it will, the gleeman assures him, if used according to prescription; and off he goes to the queen to repeat what he has heard, and to beseech her to do him the favour of putting the simple cure in operation. But no sooner is she on board than the sign is given for depature, the poor little patients are hastily put on shore, the queen is carried off to Greece, and told on enquiry that it is her father who has taken this way to fetch her home. At Constantinople he receives her with great affection, but her mother joins her tears to those of her daughter. Constantine leaves them to the silence and glum looks with which they treat him, in the confident expectation that they will soon have enough of that.

Great was the consternation at Bari when it was known that the queen had been carried off. Fearing the wrath of the king, the citizens proposed to leave the town, but Liupolt persuaded them to stay, saying that he himself would bear all the blame. On Rother's return, a week afterwards, Liupolt humbles himself exceedingly, and offers to suffer death for the negligence of which he has been guilty, if the citizens may be spared; but Rother calms his fears. 'Is there not,' he says, 'many another fair woman in the world?' The services and sufferings of a brave knight are not to be forgotten, and the citizens, too, may be reassured. The result of this kindness is that the knights

offer to assist Rother in a great expedition to get back his wife. The giants are eager to join, so is Wolfrat of Tenglingen, Liupolt's nephew. The princes go to their various provinces to raise their forces and bring them to Bari in twelve weeks' time. There is a general desire, so it is stated here, to bring back Pippin's mother (Pippin's birth is told afterwards), for he was the father of Charlemagne and of good St. Gertrude, abbess of Nivelle.*

III.

Here we enter the third act of Rother. We are to be launched, it seems, on another Iliad, and to accompany an expedition to bring back a queen who has been carried off, and whose name may, for all we know, be Helen, since no name has ever been given to her, or to her wise mother either. The reader will, however, have seen already that the story of Rother is of a very different spirit from the Iliad; and in the sequel, too, it is more a tale of adventure and of cunning than of war. It must also be said that in what remains of Rother the religious influence is more obtrusive than in what we have had before us. The tone is more theological, and the characters act more like good churchmen.

The arrival of the lords with their forces on the sands at Bari is told in detail. The Bavarians are specially praised for their handsome dress and accoutrements. Asprian laments that he is not able to bring a force from his country, which is too distant, but Widolt reflects complacently that, even as they are, the giants will be able to give a good account of themselves. Rother is advised to send home the greater number of the assembled forces and to take no more than thirty thousand with him to Constantinople. With that number he sails; many a man was on board, it is reflected, 'whose father never had seen Bari.' The force is conveyed in twenty-two ships, and arrives at its destination in six

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* Here it is clear that Rother has but a very slender footing in history. He is represented as Charlemagne's grandfather and as Roman Emperor, but Charlemagne was the first Emperor of Teutonic extraction, and was not connected with Lombardy. The historical Rother was King of the Lombards in North Italy and no more.

weeks. It does not, however, appear before the town but camps in a wood 'a mile lower down.' Great discipline was there maintained. Rother announces his intention to go to court disguised as a pilgrim, and to gain his bread, as a spielmann, by news and story-telling. He is persuaded, however, to take Berchter and Liupolt with him, and a horn is given him with which to make a signal to his people if in straits. The three pretended pilgrims meet a knight of the court and ask him for news, since news is all they have to depend on for their living. The knight favours them with a description of Rother's stay at Constantinople, his generosity, his capture of Ymelot, and his running off with the king's daughter before the king got home. All this is agreeable enough to hear, but what follows is otherwise. After the king recovered his daughter, Ymelot of waste Babylon came again, and wasted and burned, and took the king prisoner. To obtain his liberty, the father had been obliged to promise his daughter to Ymelot's son, and she is to be given him, sadly against her will, this very night. 'Ah, that Asprian would come ere the day ends,' the knight concludes.

The pilgrims enter the hall where Constantine is feasting the kings of Babylon. One of these is Basilistium, Ymelot's son, and by his side sat Rother's wife, indulging her sorrow. Constantine talks to her and tells her he has dreamed that a falcon came from Rome and carried her off again over the sea. Rother and his companions had slid under the table and heard this, heard too how the heathen kings took Rother's name in vain, and boasted that if he should appear they would drown him in the sea. The hero slips nearer, to the footstool, and places in the queen's hand a gold ring on which his name is engraved.

'When the lady read it, that Rother was in the hall, then laughed the good one, and said to her mother that the king had come to them from Bari. Constantine saw the laughing; he spoke: "Your health, dear daughter mine, glad is your father that you smile." Then spake the lady, full of honour: "That I was out of humour at you, I repent it sincerely. I will never do it again. Then spoke Ymelot: "Lady, you lie needlessly. I doubt your laughing means sore hearts and wringing of hands for us before the thing is ended. Yet we are on our guard—there are spies of the King of Bari in this hall. I will give my head for it."'

Basilistium has seen the ring, and declares that Rother is present, and the king orders twelve men to guard the door. Rother consults with his friends what is to be done, and Berchter advises that the bold course will be the best.

'"Here let us advance, in honour of the heavenly king and of all his army, that he preserve us of his compassion from the heathen, who by his strength bade Moses boldly go with the people of Israel through the Red Sea, where not even a child can live. . . . In Saint Gilge's name I will go forward;" so spoke the Duke of Meran.'

Rother steps forward to the table where the lords are all standing up, and says, 'Yes, I am here; behold me who will.' Constantine consents to the demand of the heathen kings for the death of Rother; and the latter apparently consents to it also, but suggests that he should be hanged on a hill which he points out, near a wood. Ymelot's men lay hold of him; the ladies are full of tears and lamentations. A great multitude runs out from Constantinople to see the proceedings, lamenting the fate of one who had treated them all with such generosity. Count Arnolt, whom Rother had enabled to set up an establishment in the city, leads out 1,200 men, increased afterwards to 5,000, and exhorts them to do what they can to rescue him; they are to think of Saint Ylien and of Saint John the Baptist, and consider that he who falls will have all his sins forgiven. Though the condemned man is escorted by one hundred thousand Finns, Arnolt is not dismayed. For a standard he has a reliquary which he got in the Cathedral, and again he holds before his men the strongest religious motives. In his address we hear very plainly the echo of the Crusades.

'Two rewards are promised, he says, one in the kingdom of heaven, he who is killed here, his soul is saved and brought to the life of heavenly joy; what better fate could he have had? On the other hand, if you rescue the brave man, he will take us with him to his land and keep us there. Tears dropped from his eyes. In the true faith they opposed the heathen, and struck them a mighty blow.'

Nothing can withstand them; they gain a success which is clearly due to divine aid, and Arnolt kills with his famous sword, Mal, six of the heathen kings. Rother gets his bands cut and blows his horn. When his men start from the wood there is no

longer any doubt as to the issue of the fray. The giants do wonders; Erwin gives chase to seven kings, of whom five are hung, and only Ymelot is allowed to escape that he may report at home how things have gone with him. Two hundred gleemen who had gone with the heathens to see the hanging are ordered to be thoroughly whipped with supple rods. One of them escapes and appears before Constantine, whom he informs how his actual son-in-law is free and his proposed son-in-law is hanged instead, and then makes off in haste, calling himself a fool for standing there talking instead of escaping from the danger. Naturally, Constantine is somewhat anxious.

At the field of battle Arnolt is properly thanked and praised for his timely assistance, and consultations take place as to what is to be done with Constantine. The giant Grimme is for seizing the queen, for whom they have come, and then setting fire to the town, so that all its occupants may be destroyed. Asprian, however, is opposed to this, since seven of the Twelve Apostles settled at Constantinople, and also Constantine's good mother, Helena, who found the Holy Cross. On this there are reflections on the deliverance of the world by the Cross, which God designed, though the devil thought to hinder it, and on the sure reward that accompanies God's service. Widolt, who had supported the proposal to burn the town, repents in a very passion of contrition of having entertained such a thought. It was the devil advised him, he says, but he prizes the favour of the Lord above all things, and would not be allowed to die in his sins, for he knows that the pit is prepared for the unrighteous. He fears St. Michael, he does, that comfort of all souls, who smote the devil and sent him to torment with his companions. Rother also, advised by Berchter, has resolved to use his victory with magnanimity, and simply to demand the restoration of his wife.

Constantine, meanwhile, has been repenting of all his offences against Rother, and coming to see that what a man sows he himself must reap, and that he personally has fallen into the pit which he digged for another. The queen is to take her daughter and lead her out to her husband, and is to carry to him the assurance of Constantine's entire submission. But the queen will still tease her husband, and advises him to get those Babylonish kings

to help him in this extremity. She has been his best friend and has given him the best advice all along, and it is his own ambition and sinful pride that has brought him into such a situation. This is really beside the point: what is done is that Constantine when he enters the Poderamus court for the inevitable meeting with the conqueror appears without any guard, riding with his queen and daughter in the midst of a company of 80 women, all of course dressed in the finest way and shining with jewels. Erwin advises Rother to receive him gently, and without violence or reproaches. Asprian is for stronger measures. Rother orders that the reception shall be such as is fit for a company of ladies. Liupolt and Erwin respectfully salute the queen. Rother kissed then his wife; dear was she to him as his life; he kissed the old queen too and bade her welcome. Only Widolt has to be restrained; and Constantine's queen takes the opportunity of telling her spouse some home-truths about the danger he is in should the chain break with which the giant is bound, and how he has himself to thank for it. The queen also utters dramatic justice to others present, hands to Rother his wife with her blessing, and compliments Berchter for having put away revenge, which might have been so natural after what he has suffered. Before the party separates Arnold is rewarded for succouring Rother by receiving at Constantine's hands the Kingdom of Greece, to which he at once sets out with his five thousand knights.

The strangers then sail to Italy, and Constantine, gladly resigning his daughter to her husband, returns to his city. On the day of the landing in Italy Pippin is born, which is tidings of great joy to the father. The baptism follows at once, and various details of infant life. Rother's second wife was named Bertha; she was the mother of Charlemagne. On this statement the author argues that his poem is not like others; it narrates facts, what it contains is truth. To one who has an Encyclopedia at hand his argument is far from proving what he intended; in those days of course such appliances were rare.

The warriors wish to go home, but Rother entreats them not to leave him till he can reward them as they deserve. There follows a list of the territories he bestowed on them. Scotland

is mentioned first, but it is mentioned twice; in the first place it is given to Grimme the giant, in the second to the ten giants in common. Asprian gets Rheims, and Grimme probably got in the uncorrupted text a similar grant of a city and its land, so that ten giants of the twelve were left for Scotland. What might not this account for in our history and national character! Lorraine, Brabant, Frisia and Holland are given each to a lord; Erwin gets Spain, and many a great land is gifted in this way; no faithful service was unrewarded. The warriors then bade the king farewell and rode away. There is a spirited description of Berchter, the aged warrior sage in counsel, whose limbs were active as a youth's although his beard was grey. Most curious and elaborate was his equipment, and in his helmet, to crown all there was a stone which shone by night as well as day. It was one which Alexander had brought from the East,* its name was Clangestian.

His wife had been weeping for him at Meran, but the king's heart was heavy when the old comrade went away. There is nothing before him, he thinks, but to stay at home and share his goods with all who claim his help. For four-and-twenty years, however, he has the education of Pippin to superintend. And then, the young man being ready to assume the sword, a great convention is summoned at Aix-la-Chapelle, at which the old company assemble—they are all alive still, and ready to come when called—bringing handsome retinues from all the countries of Europe, to the great joy of them all. For three days there are jousts and sports, at which the giants distinguish themselves as of old, and then all swear allegiance to Pippin; he is to be emperor on the death of his father. He at once enters on the duties of a judge, riding about the land to adjust disorder and redress wrong.

At Aix a venerable figure appears, who is recognised as Berchter. After hearing what has taken place he addresses to the king a speech, in which he sums up from a religious point of view the whole of Rother's eventful career, and ends with the

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* Heine in his *Jehuda ben Halevy*, tells the history of a string of pearls brought by Alexander from the East, and passing through the possession of very various personages down to the present day.

conclusion that it is time the king should care for his soul, and bring his life in the world to a close. The king should go with him and recover of the wounds of the world in a life of monastic seclusion. King and queen both approve of the advice, and the story ends with this act of retirement from the world.

> 'Here, then, this book has end!
> And you, now fold your hands
> And join in asking Him,
> Who bade us all to live,
> That He to the poet show His grace,
> Nor from you turn away His face.'

ALLAN MENZIES.

ART. III.—ANDREW FLETCHER, THE SCOTTISH PATRIOT.

THERE are books, like *Robert Elsmere*, written to illustrate passing interests, or to picture transitory events. They are received with much enthusiasm, provoke much discussion, and monopolise public attention for a time, and then are forgotten as others serving the same purpose in constantly changing conditions take their place. And there are men like these books—Sordellos who are born in times when activity must be spent on interests and events soon to be forgotten, who adopt attitudes which do not make history, and who, though they play a large part in their own day, have little influence on, because they have little sympathy with, the future. Their ability cannot save them; the storms and passions they raise or quell cannot make them live; their proportions in their own time are not their proportions in history. Contemporaries who were weak in comparison with them often become of great magnitude and live, whilst they pass away and are hidden amongst the majority of men.

One of these, to whom posterity has done but scant justice, is Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun. On the one hand, as a parliamentary representative, he supported a party which was

routed and which has left no trace in history; on the other, as a political philosopher, he was at once before and behind his time. Yet of no man could it be more truly said that he erred on the side of uprightness, that he ordered his life too much in accordance with principle, that his honesty deprived his country of the brilliance of his talents. As a politician, he stood head and shoulders over his contemporaries; he played a leading part in every revolutionary project of his troubled times; as a writer and man of letters he was one of the most cultured and erudite of his day; and as a patriot he rose supreme in a crisis when patriotism was never so strong, and when no greater temptations were ever held out to public men to abandon it. 'A learned, gallant, honest, and every other way well accomplished gentleman, and if ever a man proposes to serve and merit well of his country, let him place his courage, zeal, and constancy, as a pattern before him, and think himself sufficiently applauded and rewarded, if he obtained the character of being like *Andrew Fletcher* of *Salton*,' is the testimony of his contemporary Lockhart. Historians are almost unanimous in his praise. Hume calls him 'a man of probity and fine genius,' and 'a man of undaunted courage and inflexible integrity;' and Wodrow, 'one of the brightest of our gentry, remarkable for his fine taste in all the manner of his polite learning, his curious library, his indefatigable diligence in every thing he thought might benefit and improve his country.' Burnett, (whom Dalrymple tells, Fletcher held in the 'utmost contempt,') says he was 'a Scottish gentleman of great parts and many virtues;' Sir Walter Scott describes him as 'one of the most accomplished men and best patriots whom Scotland has produced in any age;' Burton says 'he was a man of high genius and stern courage.' Lecky describes him as 'one of the greatest intellects and one of the most ardent patriots of Scotland;' and in the absence of a recommendation from Dr. Johnson, we may give one by Swift, who scribbled as a tail-piece to the notice of Fletcher in Macky's *Memoirs*, 'a most arrogant conceited pedant in politics: cannot endure the least contradiction in any of his visions or paradoxes.' His greatest weakness was a

fiery temper and haughty aristocratic bearing. He held his opinions firmly, was indeed bigoted in them, and the struggles in which he engaged exaggerated these faults until they now seem to be the main characteristics of the man. His love of letters and classical models, inherited from his father, rendered him particularly susceptible to the influence of Greek ideals, and his political theories were largely the result of this influence. He was a republican, but a republican of the Athenian type. He would have had no king, and would have governed by the Parliament alone, but he thought the franchise should be carefully guarded so that the electors would have corresponded pretty generally to the old patricians. Hereditary government was as absurd as hereditary professorships. Liberty could only be guarded by an armed people. A standing army was the instrument and need of a tyrant only. The inconsistency of his Republicanism is tersely put in two lines of an old squib :—

> 'If Salton for freedom and property cry,
> While tyrant may be read in his tongue and his eye.'

He had a keen sympathy for the poor, but his only remedy for their poverty was to put them into a state of bondage. Aware of the objection which might be taken to this on account of the cruelties which might be imposed on them by their masters, he elaborated a careful system of laws and penalties for the protection of the serf. This proposal has led to his being much misunderstood and misrepresented, but no one who knows the scheme in its entirety, or who is aware of the condition of labour in Scotland at the time, will regard the proposal as anything but humane—we may almost say enlightened—when read along with other declarations made by Fletcher on the responsibilities and duties of wealth, which remind one of the utterances of a teacher of economic ethics at the end of the nineteenth century.

In appearance he was 'a low thin man, brown complexion, full of fire, and with a stern sour look,' and one of the witnesses, at his trial for treason, described him as being 'pock-marked.'

Although his memory was long kept alive by patriotic

Scotsmen—by men like Sir Walter Scott on the one hand, and by extreme politicians like the eleventh Earl of Buchan and Dr. Watson on the other—it has been almost forgotten in the new interests and ideals which the struggle for commercial greatness has held up to Scotsmen. But there are unmistakeable signs of a revived interest in the history of Scotland, and more particularly in that part of it dealing with the events which led to the Union of 1707, and in the work of the public men of that time. The Scottish Home Rule Association have been most devoted in their worship of 'the first Home Rule statesman,'* and Mr. Mitchell, their Honorary Treasurer, has given to the new Solicitors' Library a very fine stained glass window with Fletcher's portrait. May this be but a preliminary to a more public and larger memorial to one who, with all his faults, loved his country so well, served her so honestly, and, by his sterling integrity, rescued her political life from being, during a quarter of a century, a gloomy and shameful course of uninterrupted meanness, servility and self-seeking!

The materials for writing a full life of Fletcher, probably always meagre, have been lost and scattered. They were collected by the Earl of Buchan, but a MSS. history of the Saltoun family in the Edinburgh University Library is all that remains of the collection. This MSS. was written in 1785 by Madam Lally-Tollendal, daughter of Sir James Halket of Pitferran, and grand-daughter of Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, and was given by her to Buchan, who has copied largely from it in his sketch of Fletcher. The materials which Rousseau collected when he was advised by Marshall Keith, Governor of Neufchatel, to write a biography of Fletcher, have also been lost, and some documents relating to the patriot are supposed to have disappeared during the removal of the chests containing the family papers when the manor of Saltoun was being rebuilt. Some of his supposed writings are doubtful, and many stories told of him are fictitious. We must content ourselves here with giving a sketch of Fletcher's life

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* See publications of the Scottish Home Rule Association (Edinburgh).

merely. His political writings can scarcely be referred to. They present a valuable picture of the time, and his opinions are so interesting and important that they cannot be discussed in this article with any justice.

Andrew Fletcher was born at Saltoun in 1653. On his father's side he was descended from a family which came originally from Yorkshire; through his mother—a Bruce—he could claim kinship with the Royal Family of Scotland. His father was a student and recluse, interested in letters and theology, and died young. At his father's death, Andrew was left under the charge of his mother and Dr. Burnett—afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, but then minister of the parish of Saltoun—and his fiery patriotism, breadth of religious views, political leanings and classical interest had thus congenial training. What the course of his education exactly was, is not known. Under the date 1668, the name of *Andreas Fletserus* appears in the Edinburgh University Register of Alumni, but there is no evidence except that to show that he went to his neighbouring university. Lord Buchan says: 'When he had completed his course of elementary study in Scotland, he was sent to travel on the Continent;' and as this was generally the conclusion of a Scotsman's education at that time, and as Burnett himself had thus travelled and sent his own children there also, Buchan's narrative in this particular is very likely trustworthy.

After his return, Fletcher spent some years in the quiet of his Saltoun home, where he was evidently busy intellectually, and where he seems to have definitely formed his opinions upon government and begun his opposition to the Court party.

In the Convention of Estates which met in 1678, he appears as Commissioner from his native shire along with Adam Cockburn. In nearly all the biographies of Fletcher already written, it is said that his first appearance in the Edinburgh Parliament House was three years later, when the Duke of York was Commissioner. In the records of the Convention, the name of James Fletcher appears as the second Commissioner for Haddington, and it has been suggested * that this

* Foster's *Members of Parliament for Scotland*, Art. Fletcher.

James was possibly a son of Sir Robert Fletcher. There is evidently a mistake in the name. It should be Andrew, who at the age of 25 might well be expected to enter public life, considering the keen interest he took in the condition of his country and in politics generally. Besides, Fountainhall's *Accompt of the Convention of the Estates in June*, 1678, seems to leave no doubt upon the matter, for he there expressly states that Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun was one of those who supported Hamilton.

The Duke of Lauderdale was Lord High Commissioner. That strange inexplicable career of Presbyterian zeal and Episcopalian service; of rare devotion to the king and grasping care of self aggrandisement; of zealous piety that won for him the admiration and blessing of the lights of Puritanism, and of abandoned lust that made him the congenial companion to his fleshly master; of cruel tyranny which nevertheless did not deprive him of the services of men of honour, was, in 1678, at its zenith. A liar cheerfully owning to his duplicity, without a spark of generosity or gratitude, an able scholar, a keen wit, a master in statesmanship, this man, 'very big, his red hair hanging oddly about him; his tongue too big for his mouth, and his whole manner rough and boisterous,' for sixteen years had held the liberties of Scotland in his hand.

The election which brought Fletcher first to Parliament was itself an example of Lauderdale's methods. Camerons, Athol men, Macdonalds and other wild caterans, empowered by Royal authority, overran the Lowlands under pretence of overawing a developing rebellion. A deputation headed by Hamilton went to London to see the King and present to him a statement of their grievances. Whilst Charles was rebuffing them, Lauderdale had issued the new writs and gave so short a time for their return, that before the opposition leaders had got back from London, the Commissioners for the Convention had been elected.*

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* The writs for this election were made returnable in 29 days instead of 40, the usual time, and though challenged, Lauderdale was able to carry the majority of the Privy Council with him.

The Convention was called to provide supplies and sanction the raising of a force to cope with 'these dangerous field conventicles (so justly termed in our Lawes The Rendevouz of Rebellion).' During the debates, the public crowded the House, and a resolution was passed excluding them. On the following day, Henry Fletcher,* Andrew's brother, entered the precincts and was committed to the Tolbooth, another person similarly arrested being discharged. No doubt this was owing to his brother's position, although Henry himself took an active part in politics, and was on the 17th May, 1685, secured in Edinburgh under suspicion of being favourable to Argyle. We know nothing of the details of the opposition which Fletcher offered to the Government at this time.

Next year the decline of Lauderdale's influence and the state of affairs in England inspired the Court opposition in Scotland, and led to extensive arming on the part of the Covenanters. In December, the Privy Council resolved that 5,500 foot and horse should be drawn from the militia and constituted a standing force under the King's control. This violated what Fletcher held to be the most valuable and inalienable rights of freemen, and he opposed the levy so successfully in his own county that on the 29th June, 1680, he was pannelled for 'seditiously and factiously' setting himself in opposition to the Council, and was rebuked. Punished for his temerity, and probably for continued opposition, by having soldiers quartered upon him, he and ten others handed into the Privy Council in January, 1681, a petition of complaint. 'This bill,' says Fountainhall,† 'was extremely resented, because it called quartering contrare to law, and seemed to derogate from the King's prerogative and reflected on the government.'

Fletcher's name again appears on the Lists of Commissioners to the Parliament which met in July 1681; and after a committee of the House appointed to enquire into some double re-

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* It is said that Andrew did not marry because Henry fell in love with the same lady as he did and married her.

† *Historical Notices*, p. 281.

turns had reported in favour of his election with his former colleague, he took his seat again as Commissioner for Haddington. It seems that he nearly lost his seat this time owing to his well known opposition to the Court. The Bishop of Edinburgh said to the Committee—of which he was a member—appointed to decide upon disputed elections, that in the case of East Lothian, they might for the sake of serving the King and defeating 'a Shaftsburie' pass over four or five votes.

The Duke of York was Commissioner, and was endeavouring to win the affections of the Scottish people. Much as the puritanical Scots abhorred his balls and his theatrical displays, his tennis parties and his receptions, they nevertheless felt that such levity and wantonness were likely to be incompatible with the merciless oppression of a Lauderdale, and were willing to accept a respite from their loads even though it were sin that distracted their governor. But his success was short, for he could not long play a part, and Presbyterian suspicions were soon raised against him.

Amongst the first things which the new Parliament did was to pass an Act securing the line of succession according 'to the known degrees of proximity in blood,' and declaring it high treason for any subject to offer resistance to the next heir to the Crown. And the next heir was York; and York was a tyrant in governing, and a Catholic in faith. The Presbyterians had evidently become greatly alarmed at the outlook, and were demanding some security for their form of worship. Fletcher was very active in his opposition to the Duke, and went so far as to write letters to several members urging them to support him in his efforts. York never forgave him for his work in this Parliament, and in later years said that it was mainly owing to Fletcher's influence that Scotland turned against the Stuarts. The records of this Parliament are 'very fragmentary and incoherent,'* and several different accounts are given of the origin of the Test Act, which was its chief work. Wodrow †

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* Burton's *History of Scotland*, Vol. VII., p. 532.

† Bk. iii., p. 190.

writing as a Presbyterian ecclesiastic, and also as an exponent of the virtues of the Marquis of Argyle, says that the committee of the Lords of the Articles appointed to take charge of religious matters, drafted a bill ratifying previous Acts confirming the Confession of Faith, and prescribing a coronation oath favourable to Protestantism. York strongly objected, the bill was dropped, and the committee dissolved. The Lords of the Articles then drafted a Bill containing no clause ratifying the Protestant religion. Argyle moved that such a clause should be added, which was carried without a vote being taken. After this general Act, it was still felt that something more secure was wanted, and the Commissioner so far yielded as to promise that opportunity should be given for discussing such a Bill. Several drafts were presented to the Lords of the Articles, but none were accepted. Meanwhile, a Bill was being secretly prepared by the Court, calculated to at once meet the desires of the Presbyterians, and yet by restrictive clauses make their realization impossible ; to establish their religion and yet deprive it of all stability; to control the Sovereign, and yet make him absolute. 'A medley of Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, and self-contradiction,' says Wodrow. When brought in (August 31, 1681) this Bill with its severe penalties and subtle definitions had to be settled in one day. The House sat 'until the members were wearied with reasoning . . . the draught of the Act in the Clerk's hand being so much blurred, changed, and interlined in the course of the debates that the far greater part knew not what was in or what was out of it; but no delay could be granted.' When first brought in, Dalrymple says,* it was simply an oath to maintain the supremacy of the King in Church and civil matters, and provide for passive obedience to the Sovereign's will; and that on the motion of Fletcher of Saltoun, who had taken an important part in the debate, the clause securing the Protestant religion was made part of the Test. After the character of the Test was determined, the House proceeded to discuss its scope. Fletcher with great political foresight opposed its application

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* *Memoirs of Great Britain*, Pt. I., Bk. i., p. 6.

to Parliamentary electors, and moved an amendment to that effect. This was defeated, and he, along with the Laird of Grant, member for Elgin, entered a protest against the clause.

Conscientious Protestants refused to take the Test, and it is interesting as a probable indication of Fletcher's influence that the minister of Saltoun vacated his parish, and the Committee of Public Affairs wrote to Fletcher asking him to fill the vacancy within twenty days, which he refused to do.

Early in the Session, the Parliament offered the King a renewal of supply for the maintenance of troops, and Fletcher was appointed one of the Commissioners of Cess for Haddington. His duty was to impose a tax, and to decide upon certain centres where the soldiers were to go for their supplies. He again gave trouble. In April in the following year he had to appear before the Privy Council with his fellow Commissioners for East Lothian to answer a charge for having failed to perform his duties. 'After much travell and paynes,' says Fountainhall, 'taen by the Counsell on these Commissioners of East Lothian, they at last consented to name store-houses and magazines in the most convenient places of the shire, whither the sojers might come and find corne, straw, and hay.'

Fletcher now feeling that he was no longer secure in Scotland retired to the Continent, where a considerable band of refugees had collected. Here he must have met Locke, for if the philosopher was drawn into the company of Fergusson the Plotter,* he would be much more likely to have consorted with Fletcher. That Fletcher at some time or other enjoyed Locke's friendship is proved by the fact that in the Library at Saltoun House there is an original folio edition of 'The Human Understanding,' bearing the inscription, 'Andrew Fletcher, from the author.' Although he was here in company with so many men who had been the bitterest opponents of the Duke of York, Fletcher received special attention from the English Court, and it is said that the Duke sent a special request to the Spanish Governor of the Netherlands to have the Laird of Saltoun arrested and sent to London.

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* *Fergusson the Plotter*, p. 103, *quoted.*

Vigorous preparations were now being made in Holland and at home to effect changes in the Government. Shortly before the collapse of the Rye House and other plots, Fletcher came to London with Baillie of Jerviswood on a mission from Holland and was received into the confidence of Monmouth, Russell, and Sydney. Fountainhall's statement that Fletcher left Holland to avoid arrest and chose London for safety is rather improbable. Dalrymple's account, which we have accepted, is much more credible. On the discovery of the plots and the betrayal of the conspirators, Fletcher fled to Scotland, and from thence to Paris. On the 5th October, 1683, Lord Preston, who had been immediately advised of the proclamation against the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Grey, and others, wrote from Paris to Lord Halifax :—

'Here is one Fletcher, Laird of Saltoun, lately come from Scotland. He is an ingenious but a violent fanatic, and doubtless hath some commission, for I hear he is very busy and very virulent.'

Fletcher's stay in Paris was short, for the French King issued proclamations against the English conspirators, and offered a reward of 500 pistoles for their apprehension.

In some accounts of Fletcher it is said that during this period of exile he took service in Hungary. Although at this time the siege of Vienna was in progress, yet it is improbable that Fletcher enlisted now. The interval between his flight to Paris and his appearing again at the Hague is too short for a campaign. In his absence he was cited, in November 1684, to appear within 10 days at the Criminal Court to answer for conversing with Argyle and others, and in the following January he was summoned by special warrant from the King to appear at the Parliament in March to answer to a charge of treason.

In December, 1683, Monmouth finally left Court and gathered his friends round him in Holland. The refugees were now preparing for an invasion. About November, 1684, Fletcher first joined Monmouth at Brussels, and it was stated at the trial of the former that when Monmouth lay *incognito* and in hesitation at Amsterdam, he sent a messenger to Fletcher, who was still at Brussels, summoning him to Amster-

dam. Fletcher strongly opposed precipitate action, and was not in favour of Argyle's invasion. His advice was over-ruled however, and he landed with Monmouth at Lyn, on the 11th of June, 1685.*

Support came in fast to the Protestant champion, but an unfortunate event in which Fletcher was the chief actor turned the whole course of the invasion. One morning, Fletcher, who was in difficulties about a horse, quarrelled with a Mr. Dare (some accounts say he stole Mr. Dare's horse) an alderman† and goldsmith in the town of Taunton, who had been an active spirit in Holland, and whose influence in the district was considerable. Dare menaced Fletcher with a whip, and the fiery Scot drawing a pistol shot him dead. Dare's friends demanded Fletcher's dismissal and the Duke had to yield, although Ferguson says that the withdrawal was only for a few days.‡ It is not true that Fletcher separated himself from Monmouth on the latter declaring himself King. When Dare was shot, no such declaration was hinted at; and when Monmouth broke the promises which he made to his republican supporters, Lord Grey, if not Mr. Fergusson, was his chief adviser. There can be no doubt that had Fletcher been in the camp his influence would have been against such a step on the part of Monmouth. It is vain to speculate on what might have been history, but it is impossible to contemplate the events in that unhappy attempt of Monmouth without imagining its results had Fletcher remained to counsel and to lead, instead of the inexperienced and cowardly Lord Grey. When Fletcher left him, Monmouth lost the only soldier whom he had, and the disasters of Sedgemoor and Towerhill naturally closed the aimless marches, the lack of purpose and rapidity, the puerile blundering which characterised 'Monmouth's Rebellion.' In the short sketch of Fletcher, which Dr. Burton gives in the eighth volume of his *History of Scotland*, he makes

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* Dalrymple states (*Memoirs of Great Britain*, Appendix, Part I., p. 136,) that Fletcher blamed William for urging Monmouth to take the rash step.

† Erroneously described by Burton as the Mayor of Lyn.

‡ *Fergusson the Plotter*, p. 221.

the inexcusable mistake of saying that Fletcher fought at Sedgemoor. Fletcher had left nearly a month before the battle.

Whatever truth there may be in Fergusson's statement that Fletcher was to rejoin Monmouth in a few days after this homicide, both witnesses at their trial asserted that he retired immediately to the ship in which he crossed, and the editor of the Calderwood Papers, on what evidence we know not, tells that the fugitive was 'overwhelmed with remorse' for the deed. The ship was chartered for Bilboa, and there Fletcher was landed.

During the next three years his whereabouts are uncertain. A story, rather valuable as an indication of the veneration in which his memory was long held than for the truth it contains, is told of his imprisonment in Spain. When he arrived at Bilboa he was arrested on the application of the English minister at Madrid, and was kept in close confinement until an opportunity for sending him back to England should arrive. 'Looking pensively through the bars of his dungeon one morning, and contemplating with sorrow the misfortunes of his country, he observed a venerable person beckoning at a distance, and making signs to speak with him. Upon examining the place he found a door open, where he met this guide, who conducted him through three guards of soldiers apparently fast asleep; and never being permitted to thank his deliverer, about whom he never could obtain the least information, he was desired to take care of himself.' His good fortune did not end here, for subsequently, in his flight, 'as he approached a wood through which two roads led to a town where he intended to have slept, he was accosted by a decent matron who requested him to take the left hand road as the other might happen to prove fatal to him. He yielded to her advice; and, upon his arrival at the place of his destination, found the townspeople alarmed at the news of a robbery and murder committed on the road which he had been desired to shun.'*

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* *Fletcher of Saltoun*, by Dr. Watson, p. 53.

Meanwhile his ruin at home was being completed. On the 24th September 1685, along with Monmouth and Sir James Dalrymple, he was cited to appear in sixty days in the Edinburgh Criminal Court by a special warrant from the King. This Court met on the 24th December, but they 'could not get ane assize, for of all the 45 ther war but 13 present,' and the trial was postponed until the 4th of January 1686. On that day Fletcher was tried in his absence, condemned to death, and his estates forfeited by a majority, three or four jurors voting against the sentence. His estates were given to the Earl of Dumbarton, who, on coming into possession, destroyed many of the family papers.

Heedless of the amnesty proclaimed by James that year, Fletcher continued his wanderings through Spain, studying the life and literature of the country, and purchasing some valuable Spanish works which found their way to the library at Saltoun. But he could be no mere student or aimless wanderer, and so, leaving Spain, he joined the Duke of Lorraine, under whose banner many Scottish soldiers of fortune, including Count Patrick Lesley, were then fighting against the Turks in Hungary. He probably was thus engaged until the Battle of Mohatz in 1687, when the Turks were defeated and gave up the war.

In 1688 Fletcher appeared at the Hague amongst the refugees whom the Prince of Orange had gathered round him, and he accompanied William to England. Fletcher was no great favourite with William or his friends,* and took no service under the new King,† but retired to Scotland, and was not a member of the Convention of 1689. In Scotland, the disputes over the settlement of the Crown, the plots of the Jacobites, the turbulence of the people which followed on the flight of James and kept the Convention in a constant state of excitement and turmoil, are matters of common history. So also are the Covenanter reaction against an uncovenanted king and queen who was sister to James; the heated debates

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* Buchan's *Life of Fletcher*, p. 24, *et passim.*

† Macky's *Memoirs*, p. 221.

on the liberties of Parliament; the disappointment of interested office-seekers which speedily resulted in the formation of powerful factions outside, and the opposition to the Court of the majority inside Parliament. This brought Fletcher back to public life. Politicians were never so active—the Jacobite to restore the old order, the disappointed Williamite to menace the new; the minister to consolidate a disintegrating support and to perpetuate the opposition to the banished house, and the Presbyterian to keep the interests of his Church and its political and civil doctrines well to the front. The time was also peculiarly favourable to those theoretic politicians who had studied classical forms of government, and who in a way anticipated both the political theories of the beginning and the social theories of the end of this century. There were numbers of these then in Edinburgh, and they were led by Fletcher. Their influence is easily traced in the frequent hints made in this Parliament that the flight of James should have been made the opportunity for the establishment of a Republic; that constitutional limitations should be placed on the monarch; that the conditions under which William was offered the Crown should be enquired into; and that the Parliament should propose its own measures and discuss them itself.

Fletcher's non-appearance in this Parliament cannot be due to his forfeiture as Burton alleges;* for Argyle and Melville were both there. Fletcher was evidently disgusted with William, and only joined 'the Club' when it showed an active opposition to the Court, and some sympathy with advanced theories of government. When he did re-enter public life, he worked with energy, and in a letter from Sir William Lockhart to Lord Melville, we are told that in the Club 'no man, though not a member, [was] busier than Saltoun.'†

This opposition on the part of Fletcher cannot have been, as it has been suggested, because he was disappointed with his

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* *History of Scotland*, Vol. VIII., p. 5, footnote.—Burton's account of Fletcher is both inaccurate and unjust.

† *Melville Papers*, p. 159.

reward. Fletcher never put himself in the way of advancement, and did not even move for the restoration of his property until more than a year after William was proclaimed King. He opposed William's assuming the title of King from the beginning. When discontent with William seemed to be working for the success of a counter revolution, Fletcher forgot his opposition and supported the Crown; when it was rumoured that the Duke of Hamilton was to support James, Fletcher appealed to him to do no such thing for the sake of his religion and country, but added that when the danger was over, he might return to his opposition to the Court; in the following reign when he was opposing the Queen more violently than ever, he took an active part against an Act to free the importation of French wines, giving as a reason for his conduct that this measure would facilitate intercourse between Edinburgh and St. Germains. In this course, as in every other which he took, Fletcher was clearly ruled by the strictest rectitude and the most disinterested patriotism.

This was well known to William's Scottish advisers, for when rumours reached Scotland that Ireland was in arms in support of James, and when Dundee retired to the Highlands to raise the clansmen, the Convention issued a proclamation calling out the militia south of the Tay, and appointed Fletcher captain of the Haddington horse, which were ordered to assemble on the Benistoun Muir on the 15th April, 1689. Although Fletcher declined the command, and Lord Belhaven was appointed in his place, he still retained the confidence of the Estates; for on the 17th May they issued another order to the effect that he with the commanding officer should muster the horse to be raised in Haddington. During this and the following year, he was a Commissioner of Cess for his County to levy the sums which the Estates voted for the maintenance of troops and a grant to the King.

On the 31st July, 1689, he petitioned that his sentence of forfeiture be reconsidered as being 'illegal and unwarrantable,' and on the 30th of June, 1690, an Act was passed annulling the sentence; and his name again appears among those participating in the provisions of the more general act, 'Rescinding

the Forefaultures and Fynes since the year 1665,' passed on the 4th of July that same year.

The Club ended with its betrayal by Montgomery, its founder, and Fletcher again dropped out of politics. But new interests were beginning to stir. The scope of our subject, whilst it compels us to mention, forbids us to narrate the growth of the trading spirit in Scotland, with all its far-reaching results—foremost of which was the Union of the Parliaments. The drain on Scottish resources, which was the inevitable result of the Union of the Crowns, intensified by the methods of government which the absent Kings had pursued, had left Scotland in greatest straits. Fabulous stories of the wealth of the Indies were current. A body of patriotic and wealthy Scotsmen energetically busied themselves to start a trading company, and prominent amongst them was Fletcher. Dalrymple's story of his introducing Paterson to the Marquis of Tweedale is probably, as Burton thinks, more picturesque than true. Yet it is a picturesque way of telling how ardently Fletcher supported the trading scheme which Paterson was pushing. On the 26th of February, 1696, the subscription list of the Darien Company was opened in Edinburgh and on that day Fletcher subscribed £1,000 to the Company. Again and again, in his subsequent speeches, he referred to the necessity of establishing a Scottish trade, *e.g.*, when attacking the maintenance of a standing army in Scotland, he said that the £84,000 spent annually on these forces would be with much more advantage spent in fostering trade. His support was never that of a merchant greedy for dividends, but rather of a patriot endeavouring to strengthen and enrich his country.

This movement was the beginning of the end. Events hurried on to the Union. A failure of crops towards the end of the century made the state of the country desperate. Ireland, now the inexhaustible source of pauper-supply, received bands of starving Scots. The hatred to England deepened in Scotland. In the Parliament louder protests were lodged against William, the interests of the South African Company were more jealously watched and guarded, keener interest was taken in trade generally, and stringent Acts passed relat-

ing to the conduct and care of the poor. Remonstrances and petitions poured in upon the Parliament, and it petitioned the King to alleviate the discontent. Monster addresses were sent direct to London, and a great national petition was prepared. The Jacobites were busy; Glencoe had left bitter memories. The Kirk again raised its head and appointed a day of fasting for the sins of the people. The Edinburgh mob broke into the Tolbooth and wrecked the houses of ministers. When the Parliament re-assembled, in 1701, the table was piled with strenuous petitions and angry addresses, and its earliest acts were menaces to the King and England. The English House of Lords passed a resolution condemning the Scottish trading settlements. The King's reply was a reproof, and recommended that there should be a legislative union established between the two countries. At this crisis, William died. Such, briefly, was the state of affairs when Fletcher, after an interval of twenty years, again represented East Lothian in the Parliament which met in 1703.*

This was the first Parliament of Queen Anne's reign. Cavaliers and Episcopalians were strong in it, but their desire to do nothing unnecessarily displeasing to the Court, their uncertainty as to the amount of sympathy which the Queen really had for them, together with the pledges in their favour which Queensberry, the Commissioner, gave, kept them quiet at the beginning. The Queen's position was confirmed, the Presbyterian form of worship established, and a bill for the toleration of Episcopal clergy proceeded with. This last, never seriously meant, was dropped altogether after being deferred until Fletcher should introduce a proposal for uniting both Episcopalians and Presbyterians.† The harmony between the Cavaliers and the Court did not long continue, however. The former finding that Queensberry's promises were un-

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* Fletcher has been credited with being the originator of the Education Act of 1696 (Proceedings of the Society for Social Science, 1857, p. 186). But whatever interest he may have taken in the measure, he was not in Parliament.

† Lutterell, *Historical Relations*, Vol. V., p. 306.

trustworthy, and that Anne's sympathy was doubtful, joined the opposition, which, inspired by Fletcher, began to formulate propositions for the limitation of the authority of the Crown and the security of the rights of the Parliament. In the fiery discussions of this session no voice was oftener or more ably raised than Fletcher's for the liberty of Parliament and a constitutional monarchy. He was, in activity and influence, if not in name, the leader of the opposition—the power behind Hamilton and Tweedale. He was bold in the charges he made, and violent in supporting them; his language was plain and his words well chosen; he said exactly what he meant, and supported his contentions with elaborate illustrations from classical history. He openly charged Queensberry with taking orders from English politicians and delaying business until some of the opposition should tire of the Parliament and leave for their country residences; and so deep was the hatred between Fletcher and the Commissioner, that once during a speech by the former, the latter rose and adjourned Parliament. He was mainly instrumental in getting the House to vote that liberty should be discussed before supply. The scene at this sitting is realistically described by Lockhart: 'The House being crowded with a vast number of people, nothing for near two hours could be heard but voices of members, and others (it being late, and candles lighted) requiring liberty and no subsidy.' But his greatest achievement in this session was the voting of the Act of Security, which however was not touched by the sceptre, the Parliament being prorogued on the following day.

The old spirit of servility to the Court, which had for a short time after the Revolution been thrown off, was again creeping over the Scottish Parliament. It would be out of place to enquire into the methods by which the Court party secured a majority in this Parliament. It is scarcely necessary to add the loathsomeness of bribes received, to the unprincipled greed and fawning subjection which determined the votes of so many of the Commissioners. Almost alone Fletcher stands equally pure from Court influence and St. Germain's intrigue. True, his temper bursts out with unpleasant violence and frequency;

he strikes as sharply and mercilessly as lightning; he often forgets to be courteous, and is haughty and ungovernable. But we can imagine the keenness of the pain which filled his soul as he stood all but helpless whilst his country was being sold under his very eye.

When Parliament met again, things still looked hopeful, although in the interval some of the cavalier and country parties had allied themselves with the Court, and Tweedale was Commissioner. Fletcher was at his post wary and ready as ever. On the first day of the Session, Tweedale moved that the Estates adjourn. Fletcher opposed, and his opposition was sustained. Godolphin was anxious that the Scottish Parliament should settle the succession, and so, that was the most prominent question before the House, and the Court desired to press it. Hamilton moved that before the Succession be settled, a commercial treaty should first be concluded with England. He was supported by Fletcher, who in a long speech reviewed the misery brought upon Scotland by the Union of the Crowns, and urged the necessity of Scotland becoming a trading nation. That this meant a Legislative Union with England, Fletcher was perfectly well aware, and was indeed zealous to promote such a Union on lines which would not deprive Scotland of its independence. He was a Federalist, and on the 21st July tabled a Bill appointing a Committee to arrange for a Federal Union. Three weeks later, when this came up for discussion, Belhaven moved that the matter of the Scottish plot which had occupied public attention during the recess should be enquired into. So much time was taken up with this debate, that Fletcher, finding it impossible to proceed with his own proposition, contented himself with making a violent attack upon English interference with Scottish affairs, and moved a resolution condemning the meddling of the English House of Lords, and approving of the conduct of the House of Commons, which, jealous of its own powers rather than sympathetic with the Scots, had objected to the proceedings of the Upper Chamber in its treatment of the Scots Plot. The former part of the resolution was eagerly carried in the teeth of the Court.

Jubilant crowds met the patriots as they left the House, and Edinburgh passed the night in feasting and merriment. Scotland had made an emphatic protest against English domination, but the chance of appointing independent Commissioners to treat with England, and of having a Federal scheme of Union opposed to a Corporating one, was gone.

In this Session the Act of Security was again passed, and as in the meantime Fletcher and his party had, by pamphlet and speech, widely circulated the idea that the touching of an Act of the Estates by the sceptre was a mere matter of form, Tweedale allowed the Act to become law, hoping to appease the opposition and get the Court designs advanced.

Fletcher saw in the principle of the representation of peers a grave danger to the independence of Parliament as an elected body, and introduced a Bill for increasing the representation of the Barons by 11, and further, for providing that when a new peer was created, the Barons should also have an extra representative. In the course of the debate, there occurred a quarrel which might have ended seriously. Fletcher accused Hamilton of having reflected on him, and on Hamilton offering to go to the bar, the former shouted: 'Such reckoning is for another place.' Hamilton replied that he did not refuse that. The Commissioner interfered and after some difficulty, both apologised.

As the Session drew to a close, Fletcher desired to clench the work done during it, and also to concisely formulate the position of the Parliament with regard to the country's rights and liberties in an address to the Queen, and he presented a draft. Although his draft was rejected, his idea was adopted, and the Session closed after voting an address on the lines which he had suggested.

To the work of this Session the English Parliament made a menacing reply. Scotsmen were to be declared aliens in England, Scottish trade was to be ruined, English troops were to be sent to the Border and certain towns there fortified. This, with a revival of Darien animosities on the trial of Captain Green, and of national hatred on the publication of Attwood's reply to Anderson's *Historical Essay*, made the

Scottish patriots more violent than ever when Parliament again sat in June 1705.

On the opening day Fletcher opposed the return of Baillie of Jerviswood, now a Court supporter, but without success, and spoke against any negotiations with England until that country had withdrawn its 'insults.' He even went the length of naming the King of Prussia as a likely successor to Anne, and, later on, moved that instead of an Act of Union, a remonstrance should be sent to the Queen. In August he tabled his 12 famous Limitation Clauses, providing that Parliaments should be held annually, and that the President and other officers should be appointed by ballot; that for every Peer created, one Baron should be added; that only noblemen and elected members should vote in Parliament; that the Sovereign give assent to all laws passed by the Estates; that a committee of administration be appointed by each Parliament; that Peace and War be declared only with the consent of Parliament; that all offices and pensions be the gift of the Parliament, not of the Sovereign; that no standing forces be maintained without the consent of Parliament; that certain Land Officers be ineligible for seats in Parliament; that if the Sovereign violate any of these conditions of government, he shall be declared to have forfeited the Crown. Fletcher proposed that this Bill should be passed as a Claim of Right, and not as an Act requiring Royal sanction, but the Parliament decided to proceed with the Act of Treaty in preference to his claim. On the 1st of September the 'great betrayal' came. On that day there was a long discussion, upon a motion by Fletcher, that the clause in the Act of Treaty relating to Christianity should be left out. At a late hour the division was taken, and several members then left. Hamilton was instantly on his feet, and, amidst the breathless excitement of his own party and the triumphant glee of the Court, proposed what he had formerly opposed, that the nomination of the Scottish Commissioners be left to the Queen. No sooner had Hamilton finished than Fletcher sprang up, and angry shouts answered his vehement attack of the late mainstay of his party. 'The appalled remnant maintained their battle with fierce and frantic eloquence.' It was a hopeless fight. The Court had its oppor-

tunity, and that night, before the House rose, the Act of Treaty was passed.

We have not attempted to even sketch a history of the Act up to this point, nor can we follow it closely to its end. That history has still to be written. We must here content ourselves with following Fletcher's career, which was now closing fast. The next Session met in October in the following year, and in the meantime the Commissioners had prepared their draft of the Treaty. The country was lashed into fury against the Union. Fletcher took an active part in the agitation, which in those days was conducted by pamphlet and broadsheet, not by stump oratory. It is difficult to imagine how Edinburgh printers could have produced the vast amount of printed matter that was published at the time. As it was, they seem to have been hampered in their work, and Boyer says * that Fletcher complained that the printers were summoned before the Edinburgh magistrates and cautioned against printing anything not previously authorised by the officials.

Fletcher was again in his place, and his first speech was made in support of a motion that a fast should be held in acknowledgment of national sins. In a subsequent speech on the same subject, he raised a great uproar by declaring that, if he told what he knew, some of the Commissioners would be ashamed to hold up their heads, and on the following day he accused them of having betrayed their trust. Clause by clause, with dogged determination, he fought the Treaty. Complaints were made that he was obstructing business, and the House several times was on the point of censuring him. But his following had become a minority, and his opposition was that of despair. The 'auld sang' was ended. In January 1707, Fletcher proposed that no nobleman nor nobleman's eldest son should be eligible to represent a Scottish constituency in the House of Commons. The motion was carried, and this is his last recorded work in the Parliament of Scotland.†

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* *History of Queen Anne*, pp. 250.

† It is interesting to note that in this last Session he was one of a small committee appointed to examine into the progress which Mr. James Anderson, W.S., was making with some historical works, for which he had at various times received grants from the House.

He was once again dragged before the public when the Scottish authorities were taking precautions against the threatened French invasion of 1708. He was arrested in Edinburgh, probably through pique, and sent up to London with some Scottish Jacobites. He was discharged in a few days, and with this incident passes from public life.

Returning to Scotland he lived as a country gentleman, interesting himself in the management of his estate, 'emulating Lord Haddington,' as is unjustly said in Chalmers' *Caledonia*, 'after he saw his political career closed by the Union.' His greatest improvement in the agriculture of his shire was when he took Meikle, a millwright, to Holland, to study corn mills. The result was the introduction of fanners in threshing, and the corn thus treated acquired a wide reputation as 'Saltoun barley.' In 1716, he was seized with illness whilst in France, and feeling the hand of Death to be upon him, hastened home that he might die in his still beloved country. He was only able to get as far as London, and died there on the 15th of September. Lord Milton, his nephew, took his body home, and it reposes in the family vault at Saltoun.

J. R. MacDonald.

Art. IV.—THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL HISTORY OF EUROPE.

Sixth Lecture.

I.

IN considering the mediæval history of Scotland, one meets with mysteries ethnological as well as political. I have the advantage of coming after Professor Rhys in this Chair, and I have learned much from him; but nevertheless, it remains a mystery to me how the Pictish language came to disappear. That it was a Keltic dialect, but with Iberian elements, I entertain little doubt; that the language of the majority often gives place to that of the minority, when the latter has some decided advantage, religious, social, or political, over the former, I am well aware; but here it is apparently a question of two races of barbarians on

something like the same level, so far as we can see. In fact one would be inclined to say that the Brythonic language of Strathclyde ought to have had the best chance of the three, on the score of civilization. I can only suppose that the true Scots were really, what some of the early Irish writings and traditions portray them, a very highly-gifted race, psychically as well as physically, and that this superiority told in their favour in the linguistic struggle, in spite of the difficulties interposed by a rugged and thinly peopled country, vexed by continual wars and intestine dissensions.

It is the habit of a decaying language to hide itself, as it were, in nooks and corners, while the advancing tide of the victorious tongue sweeps round it; or to continue to exist among the commonalty, while the upper and more energetic classes, those who stir and push and make history, shew no sign of its existence. Thus, Chaucer's Skipper of Dartmouth speaks English like the rest of his company; one would never imagine from any hint given by Chaucer, that Cornish was spoken in South Devon for two centuries afterwards.

Still, I was surprised when Dr. Christison pointed out to me the passage in Burt's Letters, in which he says he had been informed that, before the Union, Irish (*i.e.*, Gaelic) had been the language of Fife; and that after the Union it became one condition of the indenture, when a youth from Fife was to be bound on the Edinburgh side of the water, that the apprentice should be taught 'the English tongue.' But Jamieson, in a note to the fifth edition of Burt, says there is no reason to suppose that in Fife any Keltic dialect had been used, during the last five centuries, that would have been intelligible to an Irishman. That Gaelic lingered long behind the Ochills, in Strathallan, I could well believe: the population there is physically much more Gaelic; and in the 13th century, since which there have been no great changes of population, the personal names in a perambulation of Wester Fedale, near Auchterarder, were almost all Gaelic. But with regard to Fife, I am disposed to think that Burt was hoaxed, or that he misunderstood his informants.

The proof, could it be had, that Gaelic had lingered long in a particular locality would by no means show that the proportion

of Gaelic blood there was particularly large. I have said that the Strathallan people are largely pre-Saxon. They are very generally dark haired, and their features correspond to their colour: yet their forefathers have spoken English for generations, though with a Gaelic accent. The people of Keith and Huntly speak English; but dark colours prevail among them, which is not the case in the lower ground of Moray on the one side, or of Aberdeenshire on the other; and I believe them to be mainly of Pictish extraction. The people of the Ness, in the north of the Long Island, have spoken Gaelic from time immemorial; but those who have seen them (I regret that I have not) with one consent declare them to be pure Norsemen; and I can testify that even south of them, at Stornoway, the strength of the Scandinavian types is remarkable. Whether Norse was ever the language of the commonalty in the Hebrides is very doubtful. Captain Thomas thought it was. Quoting Vigfusson, he tells us that the poems of Orm of Barra formed part of the entertainment at a banquet in Iceland, in 1120. The most I should infer would be that the islanders were bilingual in the same way in which England was bilingual in the 12th century, or in which Wales and the Highlands are bilingual to-day, while we read and admire the poems of the Welshman William Morris.

Some of those migrations which have most effect on physical type do not necessarily affect the language: this may be the case where they are gradual and long persistent, so that the speakers of the original tongue are able to assimilate successive generations of new-comers.

In attempting to analyse anthropologically the population of Scotland, one is met with a difficulty common to several countries of Western Europe—England, Ireland, Spain, Portugal, Sardinia, Sicily. Almost all the elements are long-headed, and therefore our readiest test, except that of colour, almost fails us. It is the one of which I have made most use in these lectures, as being the most accessible, and as having been so much developed as to yield an enormous mass of data; but, as will have been gathered, I think its special importance has been a little exaggerated. A brachykephalic—short-headed—element no doubt entered Scotland during the period of bronze; and, as I have

already stated, I thiuk it probable that a Mongoloid race may have been among the earliest occupants of the country; but neither of them is largely represented now-a-days. The former of these should be found especially in the Brythonic, the latter in the Pictish districts. Mediæval skulls are generally neglected, to the detriment of ethnological history. But Sir Daniel Wilson measured 12, mostly from Edinburgh, and found a breadth-index of 78·6, which is rather high for these islands. The number is too small to allow of any confident deduction, but the width is greater, and most of the other measurements less, than in the series of what he calls Keltic (let us read Gaelic) skulls, with which he compares them. Of these latter, by the way, several are from Iona,* and it may be worth while to note again how often finely developed skulls are discovered in the graveyards of old monasteries, and how likely seems Galton's conjecture, that progress was arrested in the Middle Ages, because the celibacy of the clergy brought about the extinction of the best strains of blood.

There are not many modern Scottish crania in collections; but those series with which I am acquainted mostly give a lower index than the one just mentioned, yielding little support to the notion that Scottish heads are growing wider.† Observations on the living subject have been more numerous, undertaken either by myself or by friends at my instigation. I will give them corrected for comparison with the dry skull: this is done, as I think I have already mentioned, by the subtraction of the number 2 from the index of the living.

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* Average index of 5, 76·8.

† Here, however, comes in a very notable and important apparent exception, with which I have only recently become acquainted, through the great courtesy of Professor Sir William Turner. He is known to have been engaged for some years in collecting material, chiefly intramural, which may bear on this question, and on the higher types of the Scottish cranium, and though he does not consider his results quite ripe for publication, he has kindly communicated them to me. They indicate, I am permitted to say, the presence of an unexpected number of broad heads among the educated population of Central Scotland of a century or two back.

88	Isla men, by Hector Maclean, - -	77·3
28	Colonsay, do. do., - -	75·2
18	Eyemouth and Burnmouth, J. B., - -	74·7
12	Berwickshire, inland, J. B., - - -	75·9
55	Highlanders, various, J. B., - - -	74·2
40	Educated Scotchmen, J. B., - - -	75·3
20	Other do. do., J. B., - - -	75·5

The relative breadth, it will be observed, is small, smaller than in almost any part of the continent of Europe. On the other hand, the absolute length is great, greater indeed than I have found anywhere else, except in Hanover and East Friesland, and it is this which makes the breadth appear small: the circumference again is large in all, though inferior to that of the Hanoverians. There are certain differences between the four classes of Scotchmen: thus the Berwickshire peasants seem to have slightly smaller heads than the fishermen (the contrary is said to be the case further north on the east coast): the Berwickshire fishermen have slightly less prominent brows, their heads are a trifle more lofty, the frontal region rather more developed, and the whole base of the brain rather broader than in the Highlanders. The educated Scotchmen, who were nowise selected, except for hereditary or personal intellectual distinction, and who came from all parts of the country, including the Highlands, agreed more with the Berwickshire fishermen in their proportions, but their foreheads were generally broader and their heads loftier.

In colour, however, which I consider very important as a race-test, the difference between Eyemouth and Ballachulish is very great, almost as great, perhaps, as between any two districts in the country. The proportions of light and of dark eyes are not very different, it is true; but the neutral eyes are generally light hazel or hazel-grey in Eyemouth, but dark grey in Ballachulish. Black hair is quite rare at Eyemouth, and among the Berwickshire peasants of pure breed it hardly ever occurs; but at Ballachulish it is in the proportion of 10 per cent., and often occurs with blue or dark grey eyes. Altogether the hair is more coloured there, more pigmented; thus the blond hair (which is not uncommon at Ballachulish, notwithstanding the pronounced

tendency to blackness), is more apt to be yellow, while in Berwickshire it often tends to a flaxen hue, which means deficiency in colouring matter. How far this has to do with differences in the atmospheric moisture, or how far it is due to peculiarities fixed in the race, may be questioned: on the whole it seems probable that red and yellow pigment were originally developed copiously in a moist atmosphere, but that the tendency to their production is now completely fixed.

The Berwickshire people are mainly Anglian by race: it is probable that the British inhabitants were pretty completely expelled at the time of the Anglian conquest. Some Danish and Norse blood was introduced under Malcolm Ceanmohr—later changes have not been great, though of course there has been a slow infiltration of the general Scottish population. I will give you an example of such immigration from a tombstone in Foulden churchyard, on which I have more than once enacted 'Old Mortality.' 'Here lieth ane honorable man, George Ramsay in Foulden Bastel. . . .

'Fife fostering peace me bred
From thence the Merse me called,
The Merse to Mars his lawys led,
To bide his battles bauld.
Wearied with toil, and sore opprest,
Death gave to Mars the foil,
And now I have more quiet rest
Than in my native soil.
Fife, Forth, Mars, Mort, these fatal four
All hale my life hath driven o'er.'

There is every agency present in Berwickshire which might be expected to develop or maintain a fine type of man. The original stock was tall, handsome and vigorous; subsequent crosses have been made by energetic immigrants; natural selection may have assisted during centuries of border warfare; there are no manufactories in the district, or hardly any; finally, the soil is rich and fertile, if that has anything to do with it; and a somewhat harsh and cold climate probably weeds out weakly people. Accordingly the men of the Merse are among the finest in Britain. Probably the average stature is about 5 feet 9 inches (1752 millimeters); the fishermen are not so tall as the peasantry, but 25 of

the latter, of pure local descent, who were measured and weighed by Dr. Charles Stuart of Chirnside, yielded the remarkable average of 5 feet 10¼ inches in stature, and 199 pounds in weight.* Here the weight exceeds, though the stature falls short of, the huge proportions of the men of Balmaclellan in Upper Galloway, who as yet, I believe, hold the record as to stature among all tested communities in Europe. The majority of the Merse men have straight profiles, long heads and faces, prominent occiputs, cheekbones and brows not conspicuous, noses nearly straight, fair complexion, blue or grey eyes, and lightish brown hair.

Of the Ballachulish people it would be more difficult to give a good description. They are much less homogeneous in form and colour. Though there has been little immigration for the last few centuries, except of Highlanders, there are various traditions of old dealings with the Norwegians. The Macdonalds of Glencoe had been islesmen, and a sept called Henderson are said to have preceded them. On the whole, however, the probable elements of importance are Iberian (Pictish?) and Scotic (shall we say Keltiberian or Galato-Iberian?): there is little sign of more primitive races. A long-headed dark race has been crossed by a long-headed fair one, and the latter has been a little reinforced by the Norsemen; a new type has been established, but imperfectly, and reversions are frequent. The moral character, the speech and manners, more than the complexion, or the characteristic forms of the level brows and of the lower jaw, make me incline to think that the Iberian preponderates over the Gael and the Goth.

For physical descriptions of the Highlanders I must refer to Sir Arthur Mitchell, to the late Captain Thomas, or to Mr. Hector Maclean. All have paid much attention to the subject, and their conclusions do not differ much. All agree as to the importance of the Iberian, or as some call it, Spanish element. As to a Finnish one they are less clear, but all acknowledge it to some extent. I believe it to be rather considerable in Scotland; it may possibly have been brought in by the Norwegians, and this is quite likely as regards the dark, flat-faced, almond-eyed

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* 86 millimeters and about 84 kilogrammes, naked weight.

folk who occur in Shetland and about Barvas in the Lewes; but its general distribution in Scotland, and its frequent occurrence in Wales, make me think it of far older date in Britain than the Norse invasions.

The Brythonic element is not, I think, at all strong or conspicuous in the Western Highlands, though it may be in Perthshire. The parts of Scotland in which one would look for it with most confidence are those where the Strathclyde-Welshmen longest retained their power, the districts adjoining the long range of hills and moorlands that runs from the heads of the Clyde and the Annan along the west of Lanarkshire into Renfrewshire. These would include Upper Nithsdale, Upper Galloway, Kyle, perhaps also Cunninghaim and Renfrewshire; but of these last I have no personal knowledge. What seems most notable in the people thereabout, are the very tall stature and the prevalence on the whole of dark hair. The schedule from the parish of Balmaclellan, to which I referred just now, which was published in my work on Stature and Bulk, and which I owed to Sir Arthur Mitchell and the Reverend George Murray, exhibited both these characteristics in a high degree.* I regret that I cannot say anything about the headform, which, if known, might enable one to speak more confidently of their racial origin. But I incline to think there is in them a large element of the same kind that we usually find in round barrows and with bronze objects—the race that was once dominant over the greater part of the British Isles, and whose tall stature and bony angular features are here reproduced. I do not know how long the Brythonic language lingered hereabout, but there is a little testimony to its long continuance which may never have struck you, though it occurs in a well-known Scotch ballad.

> 'An' they hae had him to the *wan* water,
> For a' men call it *Clyde*.'

Why did they call it Clyde? Clyde in Welsh, is pale, grey. Lloyd, the personal name so common in Wales, means 'grey.'

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* The average stature of the 75 men measured was 5 feet 10·46 inches, or 1790 millimeters; but 14 who had black hair attained an average of 1812 millimeters.

Evidently the man who composed that pathetic ballad knew the Kymric tongue, or how should he have known that Clyde meant the 'wan' water, the pale grey water.

II.

We have now traced down the history of Europe, so far as it can be done within a very limited space, from the earliest known vestiges of man down to the present day; and in all its principal divisions. We have seen that while the craniological record of prehistoric ages is very insufficient, and for large portions of Europe non-existent, such evidence as we yet possess goes to shew that the dolichokephalic was in the earliest ages the prevailing, and perhaps the only type of man; but that there were possibly two varieties of it. Its extreme forms seem to have been connected with early ossification of the sutures.

That brachykephali do, however, appear in the quaternary period, sometimes accompanying longheads, sometimes separately. Where they occur conjunctively they do not give one the impression of being mere aberrations or of pathological origin, as from rickets or hydrokephalus: and in the latter part of the quaternary period they may be provisionally accepted as at least tribal types.

In the neolithic period we find them constituting in France an important and aggressive race: they mix with and overpower the long-headed type: they appear in the Swiss pile-villages and about the Alps, and may be conjectured to have existed in mass much further east; but of this there is little or no positive evidence until later, in the early iron age, though in the age of bronze they conquered most part of the British Isles; and though there is some reason to think that at a very early period a broad-headed race was represented in Scandinavia. As the north becomes peopled, the vigorous race which fills it sends off swarms to the south and south-east; and this progress continues until it is temporarily arrested by the consolidation of the Roman empire. After the Roman dominion has passed away, we find that the northern long-heads push southwards at the expense of the brachykephals, whom, however, they rather overlie than press backwards. Soon, however, the opposite movement begins anew, and is supported to some extent by the invasions of the Turanian

type from Asia, but chiefly by the great spread of the Slavonic peoples, at the expense of the long-headed Germans and of the Ugrian tribes, who were at most of mixed type. The Illyrian race has meanwhile been invading the area of the Mediterranean long-heads, and the Kelts may have done the same to a less extent.

The next result is that we have now three craniometrical, if not racial, areas in Europe, without counting the Lapps and Finns as a second brachykephalic mass, in which case we shall have four such areas. Roughly speaking, the broad-heads occupy most of the mountain regions of Europe, with the adjacent territories, to wit, the central hills of Bretagne, the Cevennes, the Vosges, the Ardennes, the Jura, both Swiss and German, the Alps in their whole extent, the Pindus, and probably the whole Carpathian system with its western prolongations; also the plains of Poland and Southern and Central Russia, where the boundary to the north becomes blurred and indistinct.

The northern or blond long-heads occupy the regions north of those already mentioned, except the area of the Lapps, the Quæns, and the Karelian and Tavastian Finns, who are all brachykephalic, the first remarkably so. The Tavastians at least, though broad-headed, are a blond people. There is a brachykephalic spot on the south-west coast of Norway, which may be primitive, and another on the isles of the Scheldt and Meuse. The Southern or Mediterranean long-heads occupy the regions south of the broad-heads, including the Pyrenees and all to the south of them, part of Western France, the coast of Liguria, apparently, Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily and Southern Italy. To these may be added parts of Greece and of the Greek islands, and moreover Bulgaria; but the connection of blood is doubtful in the former case, and non-existent in the second, the dolichokephalic elements in Bulgaria being Ugrian, or possibly in part Thracian.

Now has this great extension of the brachykephalic area been wholly due to conquest or colonization? or to the different moral qualities or greater fertility or hardihood of the breed? or to any influences tending to actually change the type, which might be intrinsic (elevating or civilizing) or extrinsic, such as the hypothetical influence of mountain habitation might be, according to Ranke? There is a collateral problem involved with this, that

of the supposed increasing prevalence of dark hair in Europe, particularly in areas formerly occupied by blonds, and the causes of it, if the supposition be correct. For there is no doubt that on the whole, in the northern and central latitudes of Europe, the long head and the blond coloration, the broad head and brunet coloration, go together. This is the rule, but exceptions are very numerous and extensive: thus in the island of Islay and in the west of England, Mr. Maclean and I have found the rule to be reversed.*

With respect to stature, the rule is still more liable to exception. The blond dolichoid race, as a *race*, is much taller than the Slavokeltic one; and the latter is thicker of make and heavier in proportion, but that is about all that can be said with confidence. The bronze race of brachykephals in England was remarkably tall, and the tallest men in Britain are found in a comparatively dark-haired area.

To return to the problems stated. There is much more evidence which could be brought to bear on them than I have been able to put before you in these lectures. I think I just mentioned the increase of size in the heads of Parisians, a change not accompanied apparently by any increase in maximum breadth, but depending purely on an enlargement of the frontal lobe. Even this may be due simply to a gradual process of selection; the cleverer people in all ranks, that is, those with frontal lobes developed beyond the average, having been attracted to the centre of progress and the goal of ambition, in larger number than their fellows.

The extraordinary change which has apparently taken place in southern Germany, and of which I gave some details when speaking of that country, admits of several partial explanations, no one of which, however, is *per se* satisfactory. Thus the general exclusion of the serfs from the burying-grounds of their masters, in the days of grave-row interment, must be allowed; but it is strange that it would seem to have continued even after the introduction and prevalence of Christianity.

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* It is fair to note that in Western Britain we have to deal with remains of the southern, or dark, as well as of the northern or fair dolichokephals.

Von Hölder lays great stress on the wars of the old Swabians and Bavarians with the Slavs, Avars and Magyars, to the east of them, and on the vast numbers of prisoners taken in these wars, whom he believes to have been settled on the lands of their captors. Moreover, while land was more abundant than hands to till it, and while agriculture was, more or less, despised as an occupation by warriors, fugitive or converted foreigners were placed by nobles and churchmen on their domains. There is clear evidence of this having taken place in Thuringia. It would be strange, perhaps, if the descendents of the captive serfs should be found to have outstripped those of the captors and now to outnumber them. But it would be by no means impossible. The negro population constitutes the majority in most parts of the West Indies, and bids fair to crowd out the other races there; yet it was introduced in the same way; it is the progeny of foreign captives brought in to till the soil for a dominant race or caste.

With regard to colour, the question of its changeability is much increased in difficulty by the fact that the blond complexion has throughout all historical time, and in most parts of Europe, been the one most admired, while the red, the brown, and the black, though they have all had their local seasons of favour or fashion, have on the whole been the less thought of and less spoken of, especially by the poets, from Homer downwards. The inferences to be drawn from the mention of a particular complexion are not always clear. If it were universal, it would probably never be mentioned. Even if very common, it would probably not be extolled, one would think; yet the Chinese call themselves 'the black-haired nation,' and the Brahmins would marry only black-haired women, when other colours were rare; and Souvestre says, reddish hair is disliked among the Bretons. But the rule is, perhaps, that the uncommon is prized as well as conspicuous.

> 'Beautiful exceedingly,
> Like a ladye from a far countrie,'

says Coleridge of Christobel.

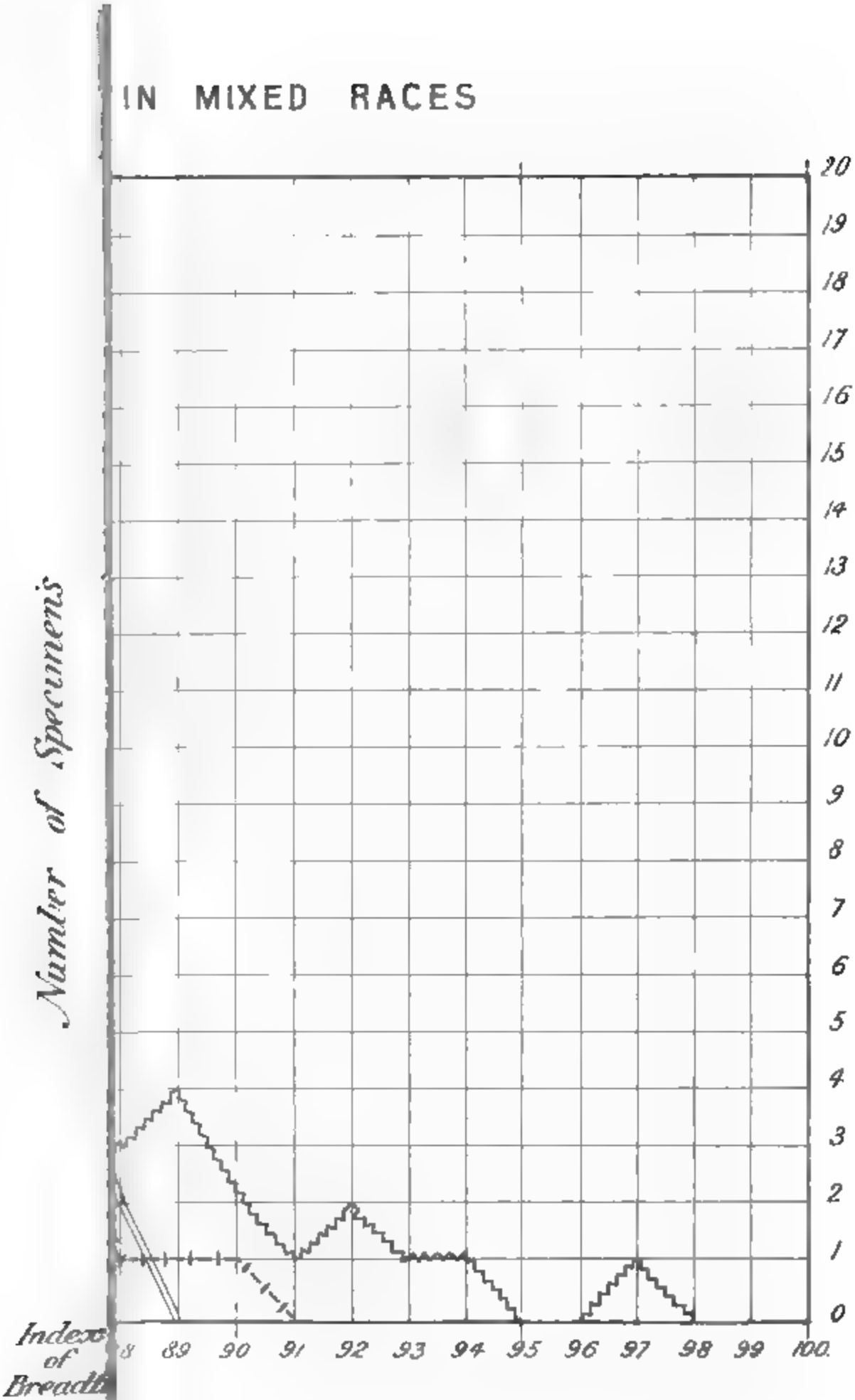
Good observers have said that all the Oriental Jews are red-

haired,* whereas it is only a few of them who are so. Some will tell you that most Scotch people are red-haired. The Chinese say we Britons are all so. The French in general think the French of the north are blond; we, being ourselves very largely fair, think the northern French dark. Instances of this kind might be multiplied. Again, a favoured colour is imitated. Perhaps the Romans, when describing their northern neighbours, ought more often to have said 'rutilatæ,' 'raddled,' instead of 'rutilæ,' 'red.' The blond locks that the great Venetian limners painted, were, we know, decolorised by art, like those of some contemporary damsels. On the whole, then, I distrust or discount much of what old writers said about the fair or red hair of the ancient inhabitants of Europe. Still, there is some pretty strong evidence of change. Such is that derivable from the colour statistics of Virchow and G. Mayr, and from my own, as to the greater proportion of dark eyes and hair in cities.

From Virchow we have the proportion borne by brown-haired children to the blond-haired, and that of brown-eyed children to the blue-eyed, for 33 cities of Germany, with the surrounding or neighbouring rural districts in every case available for comparison. Of these 33, in one the citizens are distinctly the lighter in both hair and eyes. This is Metz, and the phenomena are doubtless due to the recent addition of a large Germanic and comparatively blond element to the population of the city, while the rural population remains unchanged. Seven more cities shew no considerable excess in either way over the country people, or an excess in one respect and a deficiency in the other. These are Wiesbaden (which has none of the unfavourable characteristics of a city), Ezberfeld, Crefeld and Barmen, which are quite modern towns of mushroom growth, where no new influences have had time to work; Brandenburg, Strasburg, and Halle, a small place. In the remaining 25, both eyes and hair are decidedly darker than in the surrounding country. Of these, in 5, viz., Potsdam, Erfurt, Trier, Aachen, and Stuttgard, the hair is more affected than the eyes; in two, Liegnitz and Dusseldolf, both are equally affected; and in the re-

* Sir Gardiner Wilkinson, for example.

IN MIXED RACES



ce (Slavonic ? (Ranke) 100.

(Hollmann)

living. and have been reduced accordingly by

West of England, but not in my other and larger report, which is therefore of much less value. I have framed an index system for the Hue and Cry statistics, representing greater depth of color by an increasing figure, and these are the results for hair:

	Index.		
London,	7·3	Middlesex, Kent, Surrey, Essex, - -	3·2
Brighton,	8·	Sussex, - - - - - - - -	3·
Bristol,	14·	Somerset and Gloucestershire, - - -	8·7
Birmingham,	10·5	Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Staffordshire,	7.
Newcastle,	8·5	Northumberland, - - - - -	4·7
Edinburgh,	7·4	Lothian (minus), - - - - -	4·3
Glasgow,	13·7	All Scotland, - - - - - :	3·1

There is no exception here; but the eyes, which are not very carefully noted, seem to be much the same in town and country. In my own statistics for Great Britain, I am able in about 25 instances to separate town and country: in all these the hair of the inhabitants of cities was the darker, except (in England) in Shrewsbury, Hereford, Gloucester and Truro (all, you will observe, situated on the Welsh border or in Cornwall, where the general population is dark-haired), and in Scotland, in Aberdeen and Arbroath. I have not worked out the figures for the eyes; but in my schedule of natives of the West of England I have done so, with the result that in the larger towns dark eyes prevail. I have no doubt that this phenomenon, the greater darkness of both hair and eyes in citizens than in country-folk, is largely due to the perpetual immigration of dark-complexioned foreigners. In our own case, these are Frenchmen, Italians, converted Jews (who melt away into the general population), and Welshmen, and so-called Black Kelts, from the remote west of these islands. In the case of Germany, they come from France, from Italy, from the same Jewish source, and from Bohemia and neighbouring parts. But I doubt whether this, though a good explanation so far as it goes, is a sufficient one; and I am strongly disposed to see in the matter a case of natural selection, the blond children being, in my opinion, already expressed, often more difficult to rear amid the many unfavourable influences that accompany city life, while the blond adults, being of a more restless and adventurous temperament, are more disposed to wander and to emigrate.

In fine, we have satisfactory proof that under ordinary circumstances the physical characteristics of well-defined races of men, such as form, colour, and even size, are absolutely permanent; and that when we wish to find an explanation of such characteristics occurring in any particular locality, we should first 'chercher la race.' We must allow, however, that under a change of external circumstances natural selection may exert its influence to alter the type, and that conjugal, and what may be called social selection may also apparently modify it. Thirdly, the direct influences of external agencies, except upon the individual, and for his life only, is as yet unproven, though not by any means absolutely disproved.

III.

To what races or types, then, is the future to belong?

The northern dolichos at present multiply freely, and are actively engaged in colonizing the North American and Australian Continents, in which their type is now dominant. Whether it will long continue to be so, may be doubted. There is in the colonists plenty of size, of vigour, of beauty, and of intellectual power; nevertheless, there are signs which lead some to doubt whether all these will be permanent. The birth-rate tends to decrease among the pure Anglo-Americans, while the French-Canadians, strongly crossed with native Indian blood, are multiplying with alarming rapidity; and the American military statistics seem, *primâ facie*, to indicate that the climate is less suitable to the blond than to the brunet.

And in Europe the brachykephals, and, what is nearly the same thing for us, the brunets, have been shown to be gaining ground, in the west only insensibly, as it were by infection, but in the east, among the Slavs, with open certainty. Topinard, no admirer of the brachykephalic type, says in his latest work (*L'Homme dans la Nature*) that the day will come when it will be universal. The Mediterranean race has had its turn; it exhausted its energies long ago in the conquest of South America and 'the Indies,' and is now comparatively stagnant; but there are some signs, I think, of its future revival. But, of the increase of the Jews, at least, there can be no doubt whatever. There are no

data to shew us whether of the two curiously discriminated Jewish types is gaining on the other; but I strongly suspect that it is the brachykephalic. However, that may be, the Jews grow not only in numbers, living longer and dying less readily than the Gentiles among whom they dwell, but they are gradually attracting to themselves the whole moveable wealth of the world; and wealth is power, and the world must move or halt as wealth bids it. It would be strange if, in spite of the community of religion and traditions and usages, there were not some moral or intellectual difference connected with the physical one between these two sections of the Hebrews. And I believe there is. The Sephardim, who have usually the rather small oval true Semitic type of head, are said to be somewhat looked up to by the Ashkenazim, who are mostly of the broad-headed type. And whatever may be the case at the present time, in past times it has been individuals from among the Sephardim who have distinguished themselves from the common herd of their fellow-believers, and that in ways more noble than that of money-making.

And so again with the two great races of northern and central Europe. De Candolle and De Lapouge will tell us that of men of genius, of originality, men who have made their mark in history, or literature, or science, and whose memory remains green among us, the majority have been born among the long-headed blonds, the Aryans, as most people incorrectly call them.

If we dot the map of Europe wherever a great man has been born, we shall find, say they, that the dots will cluster about an axis drawn from Edinburgh (mark that, ye Aberdonians, they do not say 'from Aberdeen')—from Edinburgh to Switzerland. A subordinate line might be drawn, crossing the first, from Normandy to the Baltic; and there will remain two or three independent blotches about the Garonne, the Rhone, and Upper Italy.

It is evident therefore, in spite of Schaffhausen,* that there is virtue in the long-headed stock, the stock which, as the Tanagra figures show us, predominated in the old Greeks. But its partizans go further, and say that men of genius not only arise among

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* This illustrious anthropologist, so often referred to in these lectures, has died since they were delivered.

them, but are themselves, in majority, constituted like the stock amidst which they arise. And I incline to think they are right.

Dr. Venn has shewn, in the Anthropological Transactions, that at Cambridge the first class men have proportionally longer as well as more capacious heads than the rest of the students. In our own islands, where the breadth of head varies locally but little, and its general form more decidedly, while the complexion varies very considerably, it is safe to say that men of distinction are in large proportion natives of the more blond areas. The east, north and south, surpass in this respect the centre and west. Conan Doyle, in a rather superficial examination, found that after Edinburgh and some other parts of Scotland not well defined, Hampshire and Suffolk, two somewhat despised Anglo-Saxon districts,* headed the list. And I may perhaps be allowed to quote myself on the same topic—'In opposition to the current opinion, it would seem that the Welsh rise most in commerce, the Scotch coming after them, and the Irish nowhere. The people of Welsh descent and name hold their own fairly in science: the Scotch do more, the Irish less—(I am taking the English as the standard.) But when one looks to the attainment of military or political distinction, the case is altered. Here the Scotchmen, and especially the Highlanders, bear away the palm; the Irish retrieve their position, and the Welsh are little heard of.' If I were to hazard a guess, a thing I am not very fond of doing, I would say that among the long-heads it is the wider, among the broad-heads the longer, that more often rise to distinction. In each case the skull, while retaining its original general pattern, acquires an additional development in the direction in which it is most deficient. You may have two heads which give you about the same index in brutal figures, but in which the mode of development and the details of form are quite different. Thus, I am inclined to look on the old Roman head as a high type of long-head, widened in the temporal region.

If you want to have a disputed question put trenchantly, clearly, logically, and carried out to the bitter end, you must go to France to have it done; and in this particular case you may go to

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* 'Hampshire hogs,' and 'Silly Suffolk' are proverbial.

Obédenare to champion the broad, and to De Lapouge and De Candolle to sing the praise of the long-head. One would suppose, in listening to them, that the children of light were not more sharply discriminated from the children of darkness; only as to which is which they differ.

On the one hand, we are told that the long-suffering race, which desired to harm nobody, to rule over and tyrannize over nobody, which asked only to be allowed to remain at peace in the land of its birth, and to labour and produce without interference from the brigands, the restless warriors and conquerors of the other race, but which hitherto has seldom had this modest privilege, now at last, in these latter days, begins to see a chance of its virtuous aspirations being realised. No longer will its youth, in the days to come, be torn from their homes and enrolled in armies to satisfy the greed for land and dominion of the long-headed barbarians; their undeniable valour will be exercised only in defence of their homes, and their patient industry and domestic affection will be crowned with peace and plenty, with equality and fraternity.

On the other hand, we are told that in common schools in France, the long-headed children surpass the broad-headed ones; that the world owes far more to the Englishman, the Scotchman, and the Norman, than to the Kelt, the Rhætian, the Rouman or the Slav; and that it would simply stagnate and putrefy were the northern long-headed race to be nipped and checked in its development, for the source of originality, of genius, of inventiveness, of the spirit of travel and of adventure, would be cut off.

'Better fifty years of Europe,' they say in effect, 'than a cycle of Cathay.'

These ideas are extreme, of course. No people is homogeneous, or has an absolute monopoly of any particular endowment. The Alpine race are not always pacific or industrious; their ancestors apparently treated the primitive Iberians of France as badly as we treat the native Australians, and their stone arrows have been found sticking in the ribs of those unfortunate longheads. 'Breton' (and most of the Bretons are of this race) was about the 14th century synonymous with 'swashbuckler,' and the Croats have not the reputation of law-abiding harmlessness. Still, certain qualities do adhere to certain races, and seem to

be due greatly to their histories, traditions and environments, the influence of their great writers, and so forth, but partly also to their physical conformation and hereditary constitution of brain. Scott has done something, no doubt, towards moulding the modern Scottish character; but then, he was himself the product of the Scottish border, and could not have been born anywhere else.

It is an invidious thing to draw national characters, and to point out their defects. But how seldom do the English produce a great orator, or the Irish a great engineer, or the Scotch a great actor, or the Welsh, though undeniably brave, a great soldier. The Spaniards have always been cruel, the French boastful, the Italians crafty and cunning, the English lovers of fair play, respecters of wealth, sufferers from 'mauvaise haute.' These points come out repeatedly in history. My audience laughed when they heard that the Little-Russians were 'fond of greasy feeding and of music;' but we may look nearer home, and say the same of the Yorkshire men. The love and skill for music go back in them at least 700 years; of the antiquity of the other characteristic I am not so sure; perhaps it is as old as the time of the 'felon sow,' when :—

> 'Ralph of Rokeby with good will
> The friars of Rokeby gave her till,
> Full well to gar them fare.'

Or as that still more remote period when roast pork loomed so largely among the ideal joys of the Vikings' Valhalla.

Finally, there are assuredly diversities of gifts pertaining to diverse breeds of men; and unless we are all reduced to the dull dead level of socialism, and perhaps even in that case, for the sake of relief, we shall continue to stand in need of all these gifts. Let us hope, then, that blue eyes, as well as brown ones, will continue to beam on our descendents, and that heads will never come to be framed all upon one and the same pattern.

J. Beddoe.

Art. V.—GALLOWAY AND HER FEUDAL SHERIFFS.

The Hereditary Sheriffs of Galloway. By the late Sir Andrew Agnew, Bart. of Lochnaw. 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1893.

OF the ancient kingdoms, mormaerships or provinces that combined to form the kingdom of Scotland, none has a more defined character of its own than that inhabited by the race variously known as the 'Niduarian Picts,' the 'mixed Gael,' or the 'wild Scots of Galloway.' Land and people have their own peculiar features, and far to the south-west as the region lies, in a climate where foreign exotics flourish by the roadside, it still bears the stamp of Scotland on its scenery, and could never be mistaken for aught but part and portion of the—

> 'Land of brown heath and shaggy wood,
> Land of the mountain and the flood.'

Separated as the district is from the country to the north and east by the hills that border the valley of the Nith, and by the mountainous region that divides it from Strathclyde and Ayrshire, and otherwise 'encompassed by the inviolate sea,' Galloway was destined by Nature to a development somewhat different from that of the rest of Scotland, and her people have probably retained to a greater extent than their countrymen in other parts of the country the mould of the original race native to the soil. It is always an interesting speculation how far the mass of the population in any district has been changed or affected by the waves of conquest, or the perhaps more effective redistributions accomplished by the course of enterprise and industry. The process by which over the Eastern Lowlands north of the Forth, and in Galloway itself, the ancient Pictish Gaelic-speaking race which gave names to every natural feature and to most of the habitations of men, was superseded by a Teutonic race or came to adopt the English tongue, is shrouded in mystery and cannot now be unravelled. The Eastern Lowlands to the south of the Forth were undoubtedly Anglicised in race to a far greater extent, but the Book of Deer speaks of a time within written history when Gaelic was the language of lowland Aberdeenshire.

In the kingdom of Fife, protected by two embracing arms of the sea, the final disappearance of the old language dates not so very far back, while in Galloway, in the west, it also lingered long. It is true that the old Highland line was well defined, and that the Gael and the Sassenach were supposed to be separated by it. History however records no such 'bag and baggage' transportations as were effected in the East by the Assyrian monarchs, and by which, in later times, the Persian Shahs transferred Kurdish tribes from their western borders to the northern frontier of Khorassan. Even the British exodus from Strathclyde to kindred Wales was probably more a movement of chiefs and their following than of a whole population, and in Lanarkshire villages we can trace to-day a type that recalls to mind the faces of Cumberland and Wales. Indeed, were it relevant to invoke other considerations of a practical kind, and were we to hazard a political prophecy, it is almost certain that Home Rule for Scotland would be followed by a demand for the re-establishment of a State of Strathclyde.

There is no trace at all of any such exodus of the aboriginal population as is recorded in Strathclyde from Galloway, nor indeed, unless there were a gradual falling back to the hills, in the north of Scotland. No doubt in the Northern Lowlands there were large Scandinavian settlements, and a constantly increasing Teutonic strain from other sources. But both in Galloway, and in Angus, Mar and Buchan, there must have remained a very large substratum of the original Pictish stock, especially among the rural population. It is somewhat curious that in Galloway in the south-west, and in central and northern Scotland, the Romans should have found a kindred race differing essentially from the British tribes occupying the country between. It is also suggestive that in one not very creditable social feature, more marked also among the rural population, these separated districts should be found to resemble each other to this day, and that the phenomena of the Registrar-General's returns should recall the strictures passed by Roman observers upon the morals of the ancient Picts, and characteristics long ago so engrained in the blood as to mould the rules of succession to the throne.

If the history of Galloway emphasises the indelibility of an

original strain in any part of the country, it also provides an antidote against drawing unwarrantable conclusions from this phenomenon, and full proof that though in different districts particular constituents of the Scottish blood may predominate, yet of the Scotsman of to-day it is impossible to say with truth that he is after all anything but a Scotsman, a composite creation, the result of combinations similar though by no means the same as those that have produced the Englishman.

'Saxon and Dane and Norman are we,'

says Tennyson, and apparently only by an afterthought adds, 'Teuton or Celt,' and yet even among Englishmen, particularly in the western countries the Celtic strain is probably larger than is imagined. But in Scotland, whether we judge by the actions and character of the people, by the names of families, or by the names of places, the Celtic element even in the population of the lowlands must be large in all ranks of society.

In Scotland we have had no such sweeping and extended conquest as that which followed the coming of Hengist and Horsa: we have had no foreign sway imposed and no huge transfer of landed property as the result of an invasion and a subjugation like that of William the Norman. To us the Saxons came to a large extent as exiles and refugees: the Normans as friends who owed their standing in the land not to conquest but to matrimony. It is of course only possible to trace descent with anything like precision among the greater or lesser aristocracy of the country, but even a comparatively superficial examination indicates to how large an extent the famous Scottish families, such for example as the Douglases, whose name suggests Celtic descent, the Dunbars, who were originally Saxons, and the Comyns, Stewarts, or Hamiltons, who were Normans, were connected by inter-marriage, and linked on by direct descent to the ancient Celtic chiefs of such regions as Lennox, Angus, Buchan and Galloway. The address of the charters of David I. to 'all good men of my whole Kingdom, Scottish, English, Anglo-Norman and Gallovidians,' indicates not only the general composition of his realm, but a physical fact that could be verified, probably in the case of every Scotsman descended from an

average family among the larger or smaller owners of land, which had at any time allied itself with one of the older Scottish houses.

Galloway illustrates this fact of Scottish life in perhaps as emphatic a manner as any part of the country, for her baronage, greater and lesser, comprised the M'Dowalls, M'Ghie's, M'Kies, M'Clellans, Accarsons and Ahannays, and possibly the Kennedys, (MacCinoeda), of the ancient Pictish blood, the M'Cullochs, possibly of British origin, their name being traced through variations to the Gwallawe of the Cymric bards, and the Galgaeus of the Romans, the Saxon Dunbars, and possibly the Adairs whose name is a variation of Edgar, and the Norman Stewarts, Agnews, Gordons, Vaux, Herries and Maxwells. Yet most of these were inextricably inter-connected, and from the dark hour of Flodden, or even from the 'old Douglas day,' their features and character were those of Scotsmen, and nothing but Scotsmen.

In some of its broad features the history of Galloway has fully corresponded with that of the rest of Scotland, in others it shows a remarkable divergence. It illustrates, as perhaps does the general history of the realm, that the notion of continuous progress in the development of civilization is to a large extent a delusion, and that there are times when society instead of advancing falls far back. It may perhaps be questioned whether the material prosperity and social condition of Scotland ever reached so high a point until the Union of the Crowns, as it had attained under her ancient line of kings before the events that brought about the War of Independence, and the long struggle of three hundred years. The period of peace that followed till the outbreak of the great Civil War produced a change in the architecture of Scottish country houses, and an activity in building and in decorating mansions, which was not paralleled until after the Revolution, and in many parts of the country until after the last Jacobite rising. It is said that in Ireland a very large number of families can only trace their pedigree to the middle of the 17th century, but if that period be passed the pedigrees almost without exception go back some hundreds of years either to the original Norman settlers or to Celtic sources, so well defined is the mark which the sword of Cromwell drew across the page of Irish history.

In Scotland similarly our old houses speak eloquently to one who knows their language of national events. The great square tower, such for example as those of Drum in Aberdeenshire and Cavers in Roxburghshire, with its huge thickness of wall, recalls the great nobles with their large resources who preccded the days of constant war with England, the Baliols, the Comyns, and their kin. The smaller tower with its French turrets speaks of an age, when the warden raid and the clan feud were events of frequent occurrence, and in the larger houses suggests the influence of the French alliance. The long high house, with crows feet gables and spacious rooms, tells of the Union of the Crowns and a time when foreign invasion was no longer to be dreaded, nor the policy in which the Black Douglas preceded the Russians of 1812 to be followed. The large wings, the courtyard, the huge stone balls above the gateway, and possibly the loopholes on either side of the door commanding it, indicate conditions in which defence was only contemplated against a strong band of Highland caterans, and the master mounted only to ride to foreign battlefields, or to rise once more in a vain attempt to bring 'the auld Stuarts back again.' Of all these styles, Galloway has its examples, and all except the first are exemplified in the dwelling, a representation of which is prefixed to the book which furnishes our text.

If in some degree she shares the vicissitudes of the whole nation, Galloway has also her own Arthurian and Elizabethan ages. Her Arthur, no mythical hero, is to be found in Fergus, her lord in the days of the Norman Conquest, and her outstanding Elizabeth in the person of the beautiful, accomplished and affectionate Devorgilla who married the head of the house of Baliol, and lies at Sweetheart Abbey. To the time of Devorgilla must probably be assigned the acme of Galwegian prosperity. Yet, as Sir Andrew Agnew points out, there were other periods when the fortunes of the region were closely, and sometimes happily, associated with those of fair women. The beautiful Ingibiorg, whose marriage as the first spouse of Malcolm Canmore, seems to have been operative in the close union of Galloway to the Scottish Crown, the English Princess Elizabeth, whose name in Gaelic (ealasaidh) recalled to her new subjects the grace and

beauty of the wild swan, the fair Princess Egidia or Giles of Scotland :—

> 'The fairest of fassoun and of face,
> That men mycht find that day lyvand,
> Though they had sought owre all Scotland,'

whose beauty produced an embassy from the King of France, but who preferred a Scottish knight, William Douglas, Lord of Nithsdale; that other royal princess and widow of a Douglas, Margaret Duchess of Touraine, and that beautiful Douglas espoused by a Douglas, 'the Fair Maid of Galloway,' whose career was sad and chequered, all left traces of the influence which only a good and fair woman can exercise over fierce and stalwart men, on the social state and political fortunes of the province.

The name of Galloway is to be traced through the Latin Gallovidia to the older Galwethia. The Norse equivalent was Gadgeddlar, and the people were designed by Ptolemy the Novantae (men of the Novius or Nith), by Bede, in exactly equivalent terms, the Niduarian Picts, and by the Cymric bards, 'Novant,' 'Peithwyr,' or 'Galwyddel.' The Celtic name for the race was the 'Gallgaidheal,' (mixed or stranger Gael) which the Norse records metamorphose into Gadgeddli. As Julius Cæsar discovered the Britons, so Agricola raised the curtain of history upon the Picts. It was in the year of our Lord 79, that his legions 'surrounded the estuaries, and explored the lands and forests north of the Solway,' encountering a new race altogether. His experience with the Galwegian was somewhat different from that of a little later with the Caledonian Picts, for he marched westward to the Irish Sea, and established solid rudiments of civilization in their midst. Temples, courts of justice, commodious dwelling-houses, a plan of education, and the giving to the sons of the chiefs a tincture of letters, are recorded by Tacitus, as encouraged by Agricola among the natives, and apparently even then there was shewn a readiness to accept foreign influences, which was afterwards seen in relations with Saxons, Norsemen, and Normans, and probably saved the country much devastation, and in result preserved instead of destroying the original elements of the population. The Roman rule is traced

in not a few of the names, and the degree of civilization attained is proved by the early Christianity of the province under St. Ninian, in an age long prior to the appearance of Columba at Iona.

With the departure of the Romans—to whatever extent their civilization had penetrated the more rugged and mountainous districts—a change came, and the Galwegians seem to have sustained a long conflict with their neighbours on the north and south, the Britons of Strathclyde and Cumbria. The Roman example and kindred necessities probably led to the construction of the rampart known as 'the Deil's Dyke,' 'Picts Dyke,' or 'Picts Wall,' which, running for 50 miles, in the words of Taliessin:—

'Between Caer Ryan and Caer Rywg,'

from the shores of Loch Ryan to Sanquhar on the Nith, marks out the ancient bounds of the province, consisting of the shires of Wigton and Kirkcudbright, and six parishes in Dumfriesshire.

The Irish chronicles record a large number of Galwegian kings or kinglets, some of them allied with the great Royal House of Ireland and Scotland. Contemporary with King Arthur of the Round Table was a king Drust, 'the loose doings of whose "one perfect daughter, Dustric," as a pupil of the great monastery, are the subject of a penitential hymn by St. Mugint, which, as Bishop Forbes well remarks, sheds a remarkable light on the life, half-monastic, half-social, at Whithern.' The name of the British hero-king is said to be 'reflected in Loch Arthur, whence, after fighting his twelve battles he turned northward,' a tradition confirmed by the line of Taliessin, 'Beyond Caer Wydyr (Castle Gower) they saw not the prowess of Arthur.' In the strife of the orthodox and unorthodox factions among the Strathclyde Britons, the Galloway Picts probably acted as allies, for after the victory of Rydderch Hael at the Arderydd, in 573, St. Kentigern was recalled to his diocese at Glasgow, 'whence going forth he cleansed from the foulness of idolatry and the contagion of heresy the land of the Picts, now called Galwethia.' Among the famous warriors of the age appear the British 'Gwallawe, the hawk of battle,' who fought four battles to the south of the Pict's Dyke, and Eochaidh, who for the first time led the Galloway

Picts to Ireland to aid the Pictish Dalaradians against the Dalriad Scots, while the year 639 saw the arrival on the Rhynns of Galloway of the Irish maid and the 'holy boy,' who by an instant miracle first asserted his claim to canonisation as St. Cuthbert.

A new power had now come on the scene, and the alliance of the Galloway Picts with the Northumbrian Saxons who had recently impressed their language on the castle rock of Edinburgh, is both illustrated by the relations of St. Cuthbert with his eastern and western shrines, and was necessitated by the power of the Strathclyde kingdom.

> 'Angles and Galwyddel
> Let them make war, . . .
> I will predict before the end
> The Brytton uppermost of the Saxon,'

was the boast of the Cymric bard, destined to be falsified when Oswald of Northumbria with the aid of the Galwegians, won his great victory in the Ayrshire parish to which he has bequeathed the name of Kirkoswald. Has it been justified in the fulness of time by the successful pressure applied by a cave of Welsh members to a reluctant and recalcitrant Government? For 170 years the Picts of Galloway, in contrast to their kinsmen of the North, appear to have lived in friendship with the Northumbrian Saxons, recognizing their kings as overlords. The result was the discomfiture of their British neighbours, and the victory of the Roman over the Celtic Church signalized by the consecration of Pecthelm as first prelate of Candida Casa, which had in 731 lately become a see. The venerable Bede was thus able to conclude his history with a scene of peace destined indeed to be shortlived. 'The Picts are at peace with the English nation, and rejoice at being united in peace and truth with the whole Catholic Church. The Scots, satisfied with their own territory, meditate no hostilities against the English. The Britons, though they from innate hatred are averse to the English, and from wicked custom oppose the appointed Easter of the Catholic Church, though in part their own masters, and elsewhere brought into subjection to the English, can in no way prevail as they desire.'

The period of the Saxon alliance was marked by the slaughter on the shores of Loch Ryan of Alpin the Celtic pretender, who is not to be confounded with the Dalriad Scottish King of a century later, who was also connected with Galloway. But the Northumbrian Kingdom declined, and with the appearance of the war-galleys of the fierce Norsemen, the Saxons withdrew from Galloway, leaving a few verbal traces of their presence—notably in the English name of Candida Casa—Whithern.

The Galwegians appear to have adapted themselves with remarkable versatility to the changed circumstances of the time. The Cymric bards had disdained their alliance with the Angles; the Irish annalists now denounce them as 'the foster children of the Norseman,' and 'a people who had renounced their baptism, and had the customs of the Norsemen.' Yet such were the results of the fraternisation that Whithern escaped the fate of Lindisfarne and Iona, while the two races were united by not a few matrimonial alliances. The Northmen seem to have contented themselves with settlements, fortified camps, and lesser forts along the seaboard, from which they sallied forth against the English and Irish coasts, while leaving the Pictish population of the interior substantially alone as regards their customs and government. The Galloway Picts were thus able to give substantial aid to Kenneth Macalpine, who had Galloway blood in his veins, when he reconquered his father's kingdom of Scottish Dalriada, and united the Northern Picts and the men of Lothian and the Tweed under his sceptre. It is said that it was for their services in this foundation of the Scotland of the future that the Galloway men claimed the privilege of always leading the van of the Scottish armies. With their allies the Norsemen, they on more than one occasion carried fire and sword into Ireland, 'this being the only period in their history in which they submitted to nautical discipline, as both before and after, their Celtic distaste for salt water was a matter of notoriety.' Acting with Scots, Britons, and Norsemen, they were defeated by Athelstane of England at Brananburgh in 937, and Ronald or Reginald 'the Duke' of the Galwegians is classed as the equal of the Kings of Albyn and Strathclyde. A little later we find Galloway as one of the nine 'rikis' or provinces which owned the sway of the

mighty Thorfinn, whose wife Ingibiorg appears to have had claims to rule the Pictish province, and of whom the old chronicle records that 'Earl Thorfinn resided long at Gadgeddlar, the place where England and Scotland meet.' On his death his widow became the first wife of Malcolm Canmore, and another marriage contributed its quota to the consolidation of the Scottish realm. With their defeat at the battle of Clontarf the star of the Norsemen began to wane, and as the Saxons had retired to Northumbria, they now withdrew to more northern regions, leaving the Galwegians for the future to owe no allegiance to any but the Scottish King.

The new order of things was signalized by the erection of a fort at Carlisle by William Rufus to curb the inroads of the Galwegians, while again there appears on the scene, this time in the guise of peaceful immigrants, a new race, who in their turn soon established themselves among the descendants of the Picts. Under Alexander and David I. we find the district under the rule of one Fergus, Lord of Galloway, whose name suggests Celtic blood, but whose wife was a daughter of Henry I. of England, and sister of a Queen of Scotland. Under Fergus the various racial elements included the new Norman settlers, some Welsh or Cymric blood from Strathclyde, some Saxon and Norse strains, and an infusion both of Dalriad and Dalaradian blood from Ireland and Scottish Dalriada. But the preponderating element was still the original Pictish race, directly descended from the Novantae of the Roman historians. While the English annalists of the time, more particularly in narrating the campaign famous for the battle of the Standard, denounce the Galwegians as barbarians, there is no doubt that under Fergus and his successors the province attained a high degree of progress and civilisation. He induced able men, both nobles and ecclesiastics, to settle in his territories, and the revenues of English fiefs probably contributed to the prosperity of his Pictish subjects. Castles were built, and the religious houses of Soulseat, Whithern (the later Priory), Tungland, St. Mary's Isle, and Dundrennan, all attested the presence of an influence which, in that age, was reforming and ennobling. He restored the bishopric of Whithern, and carried out to a large extent the formation of

parishes, and although at times the hot Pictish blood, especially after his second marriage with a Celtic wife, led to conflicts with the royal authority, and he 'failed in his duty to the King's Majesty,' there is no more touching incident of the time than the 'Great Lord of Galloway' humbling himself in the guise of a monk of Holyrood; and no fact more clear than that, in the main, in spite of occasional fratricidal strife marked by barbaric relapses, the lords of the line of Fergus, and the great Norman barons, the Baliols and the Comyns, who married the heiresses of their honours and possessions, ruled the region wisely and well. The daughters of the last male descendant of Fergus were Helena and Dervorgilla, the first of whom married De Quenci, Earl of Winchester, their daughter marrying Alexander Comyn, Earl of Buchan, while the latter married John Baliol of Barnard Castle, the result being in a few years the partition of the province between these two famous houses. To this day a wild region retains the name of the Forest of Buchan, and in the extreme south-west, in its wild hills and gorges, presents as great a contrast as could well be imagined to 'the howes o' Buchan sae bonnie and braw' in the far north-east, from which the chief of the great house of Comyn took his title, and bore as his arms three sheaves of golden grain,

No personality has left a more enduring mark upon the district than the Lady, 'right pleasand of bewté,' who built the bridge of nine arches over the river Nith, who signed at her castle of Botel the statutes of foundation of Baliol College, and who raised to her husband's memory that most beautiful monument of wifely devotion, the pile of Sweetheart Abbey, where she was laid to rest with the heart which, though cold, she had cherished for twenty years. Well might the old chronicler exclaim :—

> 'A bettyr lady than scho wes nane
> In all the yle of Mare Britane.'

The prosperity which Galloway had attained under the strong but enlightened rule of the Baliol and the Comyn is strikingly evidenced by the supplies which were forthcoming when King Edward I. traversed the region in the year 1300. Perhaps no

less significant testimony is found in the hostility with which Robert the Bruce had to contend in the same district, and as in the far north

> 'He gert his men brin all Bouchane,
> Fra end till end, and sperit nane,
> And heryit tham on sic maner,
> That eftir that weill fifty yeir,
> Men menyit ye herschip of Bouchane,'

he ravaged Galloway with fire and sword. As in the north, so in the south, the fiery Edward followed up his brother's victories:

> 'Schir Edward the Bruce, the worthy,
> Had all Galloway and Nyddisdale
> Won till his liking all hale,
> And dungin doun the castellis all,
> Richt in the dik baith tour and wall.'

In Galloway, as in Buchan, Mar, and Athole, the lands of the disinherited Lords were divided among the followers of the victor on the completion of the triumph of King Robert, and again on its confirmation under his son, David II. As in the north, Hays, Irvines, Burnetts, Keiths, and Gordons, were established, so in the south-west there took root or spread their branches the mighty name of Douglas, the Flemings, the Kennedys, the Stewarts, the south-country Gordons, and the Adairs, while to the ancestor of the family whose story we now proceed to summarize, as illustrative of a Galloway baronial house, was given a grant of lands in the Rhynns, with the keeping of the King's castle of Lochnaw, between Loch-Ryan and the Irish Sea.

The family to which the new Constable of Lochnaw and the Sheriffs of Galloway for 300 years belonged, was one that had long before borne its share in great events, and had already associations with three kingdoms. The Scottish genealogists, Mackenzie and Nisbet, had traced the Agnews of Lochnaw to the Agnews Lords of Larne, one of whose sons, it was said, came from Ireland to Scotland in the reign of David II. It is certain that from the Galloway shores, on clear days, there can be discerned above the Irish coast the outline of a hill known as Agnew's Mountain, and that knights of the name, traced to a

companion of the Conqueror, were among the early Norman settlers in Ireland. In the first edition of the *Hereditary Sheriffs*, published in 1864, Sir Andrew Agnew accepted this old Irish tradition, and went so far as to declare that the name was now unknown in the country which was the original cradle of their race. But as all who love genealogical researches soon discover, the world is too small a place after all for hasty conclusions always to remain undisturbed, and this statement before long led to 'a mild remonstrance from the Bocages of Normandy,' where, 'notwithstanding all the vicissitudes of time—outlawries as Huguenots, proscriptions as aristocrats—a Marquis d'Agneaux still owns portions of the ancestral fiefs, and the Chateau d'Agneaux still overlooks the valley of the Vire.' The result of fuller information from French sources, and of examination of English materials more recently available, was to satisfy the annalist that the first Scottish Agnew came not from Ireland but from Hertfordshire, and to indicate clearly, if not in every link absolutely to establish, the chain of relationship with the head of the ancient Norman house. The history opens with a tradition as picturesque and beautiful as any recorded of the origin of any race. Among the first Norsemen who settled in France was a Viking, who lived near Bayeux. He and his wife had long been childless, but at last two fine boys were born to them. But sickness came, and one night both the children died. Scarcely had the parents realised the destruction of their hopes, when a knock was heard at the door, and there came a request from a stranger for shelter. Even at such a time, hospitality was not refused, and the heathen parents unawares entertained St. Martin of Tours. Sympathizing with the sorrow which he found, the Saint could not sleep, all the more as the babes were unbaptized. In the night he rose, hastily consecrated water, sprinkled the faces of the dead children, and left unperceived. Next morning, when the little bodies were to be carried to the grave, a cry was heard, 'the children breathe,' and the name they soon received among the Christians of the vicinity, 'Agneaux de St. Martin,' originated the name and the arms—three argent lambs upon an azure field—still borne by the Norman branch. The spot where the incident occurred is still known as Les Deux Jumeaux, and has

been possessed by the Agneaux since the days of Duke Rollo. Herbert D'Agneaux was, upon the succession of Duke Robert in 1028, so flourishing in the world, that it is said he could ride uninterruptedly from his gate over seven leagues upon his own estates. He was one of the Norman baronage who resisted both Duke and King, when—

'Du Cotentin sortit la lance,
Qui abattit le Roi de France.'

And more fortunate than his confederates, his impregnable 'strength' on the Vire gave the Conqueror's wrath time to cool, and he escaped with no worse penalty than the gifting of three of his manors irretrievably to the Church as a thank-offering for the victory over the Lords of the Cotentin. His son Herbert, who probably accompanied the Conqueror to England, is mentioned in Domesday Book, and soon acquired large estates in Norfolk and Suffolk. He had three sons, of whom the eldest inherited the fief of Agneaux, and is now represented by the Marquis St. Marie d'Agneaux, the third received Les Deux Jumeaux and L'Isle St. Marie, still possessed by his descendant the Marquis d'Agneaux, while to the second were bequeathed the English estates. A grandson of Herbert d'Agneaux was among the young Norman nobles who perished along with the only son of Henry I. of England, when the *Blanche Nef* sank within sight of land. It is recorded to the honour of the race, that while in the brief hour of Huguenot success, an Agneaux led the assault on Bayeux, the Lord of Agneaux saved the Cathedral of St. Lo from destruction. Strangely enough, it was upon the estates of one of the Norman houses that the battle of Formigny was fought in 1460, which finally separated Normandy from England, and for 400 years, with one short exception, apparently completely divided the French and British branches of the family. That exception was interesting, and illustrative of the chivalry of Old France. In the disasters of the American War, among the prisoners who were sent to France, was one of the Scottish Agnews. The Marquis d'Agneaux of the day, 'recognising the name in the list of prisoners, sought him out, claimed him as a kinsman, became answerable for his security, and entertained him until regularly discharged.'

The name in early days exhibited many variations. Agneaux, de Agnellis, d'Aygnells and others in French; Aignell, Aygnel, and Agneli, in England; and Agnell or Agnew in Scotland. Of the English family, one is said to have accompanied De Courcy in the conquest of Ulster, and certainly shared with De Courcy the wrath of the English king. The Agneaux were forfeited and their lands ravaged by the mercenaries of King John, then on his march to his death at Lincoln. In Hertfordshire the name still denotes Manors that belonged to them when they were the near neighbours of the Comyns and the Baliols, and it is a curious fact that 'the descendants of a knot of Anglo-Normans' in an English county, who took an important part in extorting Magna Charta from King John, should have 'given to Galloway six over-lords, a justiciary, and a line of hereditary sheriffs, as well as two crowned Scottish Kings.' In 1361, there died John de Aignel, of Pentlai and other manors in Hertfordshire, who had represented that county in parliament for 22 years. Before he died he became embarrassed, and had parted with much of his property to Sir Andrew de Bures, who subsequently married his widow. He left a son, John, who after being involved in unfortunate lawsuits with the Abbey of St. Albans, to which his father had parted with the manor of Aignell, and seeing the old home of his house in the hands of a half-brother of another name, resolved to seek his own fortune elsewhere, and rode to the court of David of Scotland.

The King's Castle of Lochnaw, of which a few stones only now remain, was situated on an island in the middle of the loch, and if held by a sufficiently powerful force, dominated the whole of the long narrow peninsula of the Rhynns, and occupied an important position, within reach both of Loch Ryan and the Irish Sea. Its occupants could not but largely control the fortunes of the south-western corner of Scotland, and could largely influence the communications with Ireland. It was therefore of much importance to the Crown that it should be in reliable hands, and King David's Treaty of 1363 having left him free to set all parts of his own house in order, he found in young Agnew a suitable representative of the Royal authority in that distant district. Tradition records that the constable had some difficulty in securing

the castle of which he had 'got the keeping.' It was in the hands of a native chief, named M'Clellan, who had withdrawn all the boats to the island, where he lay, leaving the King's representative and his force to starve in an ineffectual blockade around the lake. But one of Agnew's men was equal to the occasion. A scuffle was got up in the camp, the mutiny apparently quelled, the offender rapidly 'justified,' and left hanging from a tree, while the others rode off. M'Clellan's curiosity was too much for him, he rowed over to examine the victim, and an ambush sprang upon him. Cut off from the water, he led his pursuers a long chase before he was overtaken, and when they returned to the shore the pretended had turned into a real suspension, the rope which had been so adjusted that the victim could save himself had slipped, and the follower was no more.

Agnew having obtained possession of his castle was succeeded by a son, who was not long allowed to retain it. There were then those in Galloway who had little respect for Royal Commissions. It was the hour of 'the old Douglas day,' and Archibald 'the Grim,' then Lord of Galloway, and his haughty kin, brooked no independence within their bounds. Especially after the death of his gallant son William Douglas, the husband of Princess Egidia, did the hand of the Black Douglas fall heavy on his neighbours. All officials, whether appointed by the Crown or not, had to recognise him as their sole superior, all the baronage to renew their titles from himself, while in Kirkcudbright he altered the style of Sheriff to Steward, to indicate that the holder was his personal officer. M'Dowall of Garthland yielded and was named Steward, but if in Argyle it was a far cry to Lochow, the way from Threave to Lochnaw was also long and difficult, and Agnew did not bring in his commissions to be checked. The Douglas sent a party to fetch him, but the Norman blood of 'St. Martin's Lambs' was up, and aided it is said by a band of M'Ewans, who had recently come from Argyle, the Agnews were too strong for them, and having deprived them of their arms let them go. The offence was unpardonable, and the contest unequal. The mighty Earl drove out the constable, fired the castle, destroyed the writs of the family, and overthrew the battlements. A

William Douglas took possession, and styled himself Constable and Sheriff of Wigtown.

The Grim Earl was succeeded by his son, 'the Tyneman,' whose wife Margaret, Princess of Scotland and Duchess of Touraine, after his death at the battle of *Verneuil*, ruled Galloway for twenty years. Andrew Agnew, the son of the ejected Constable, is found among her esquires (*scutifer*), and apparently as a consequence of her intervention, and of the return of her royal brother James I. to his Kingdom, her kinsman was provided for elsewhere, and the lands and constabulary of Lochnaw were in 1426 restored, the charters being approved and confirmed, 'delecto scutifero nostro Andrew Agnew by Margaret, Ducisse Turonne Comitesse de Douglas et Domini Galvidii, *Apud* Treyf,' and finally ratified by James I. by a charter under the Great Seal. Shortly after the fortunate young man married the Duchess's niece, daughter of her sister, Princess Mary, who had married Sir James Kennedy of Dunure. Restored to his lands he had to rebuild his castle, and selected a site on an elevation by the borders of the lake, where he raised the five-storied tower, which, dwarfed to some extent by the large extensions of modern times, still looks across to the ruins on the island, and recalls an epoch when the height of culture in southern Scotland was—

> 'To know each ordinance and clause
> Of Black Lord Archibald's battle-laws
> In the old Douglas day.'

After the death of the Duchess troublous times came again. The 'black dinner' in Edinburgh Castle had not broken the power of the older branch of the great house, and in 1451, the Earl of Douglas then being 'stark against the King,' was persuading 'all men under his opinion and servitude, and in speciall the gentlemen of Galloway' and Ayrshire, to 'ride and goe with him as his own household men, and to assist him in all things.' 'But,' says Pitscottie, 'some wyse men, seeing the danger of the Earle of Douglas's proceedings, would not take part with him nor ride, nor gang with him nor be his men.' Among the 'wyse men' were the Agnews. The Constable had been in Edinburgh on the occasion of James II.'s marriage, and was there again with his son in May, 1451, when the King asserted his authority by naming

him Sheriff of Wigtown, and empowering him in his commission 'to embody troops, and if need be, to lead them in person to oppose those in rebellion and defend our lieges.' At the same time M'Lellan, tutor of Bomby, was appointed Sheriff of Kirkcudbright. The Douglas was furious, but his cup was about to overflow. The Castle of Lochnaw was beleaguered, as was M'Lellan's, but Agnew was more fortunate than his colleague, who was betrayed for gold. There is no more dramatic and tragic episode in Scottish history than the hasty ride of his uncle, Sir Patrick Gray, to Threave, with 'ane right sweit letter to the Earl of Douglas' from the King; the courtly greeting of the haughty Earl with the observation that 'it was ill talking between a full man and a fasting,' the 'good cheer' provided, the reverential reading of the royal letter, the ghastly revelation when the white cloth upon the block was raised, and the truculent reply, 'Sir Patrick, you are a little too late, your sister's son wants his head, but his body is entirely at your service.' Within a year the royal dagger at Stirling Castle had broken the bonds of Douglas's alliances, the diplomacy of Bishop Kennedy had detached the house of Angus, and the gallantry of the northern Gordons had defeated his confederates at Brechin. On 29th July, 1452, among the rewards to those who had been loyal during the crisis, Andrew Agnew, 'for his and his son's gratuitous services, manifoldly rendered,' received a renewal of his charter of the Sheriffdom of Wigtown, there being, significantly enough, among the witnesses, George Earl of Angus, William Lord Crichtoune, and Andrew Lord Gray. But the Black Douglases had fight left in them still. Returning from England, the Douglas brothers rose again, and for some time with fair prospects of success. The end however came, when they were finally defeated at Arkenholme upon the Esk, but among those who fell in the battle for the royal authority was Andrew Agnew, the Sheriff of Wigtown. To his son, now the second Sheriff, gifts were made 'in consideration of the burning of his grain, and the death of his father in the King's service.'

For a long succession of generations we find the Christian name, Andrew, recurring in the family, and while specially characteristic of the Scotch, it had also been used in both the French

and English branches. The second Sheriff stood high in favour with the King. When James II. commenced the campaign against the English, so suddenly terminated at Roxburgh Castle, he sent Agnew on a mission to the Court of Shane O'Neil, then 'Regulus O'Nele,' or king of Ulster. We find him in attendance at Lincluden, when Margaret of Scotland received Marguerite of Anjou and the ill-fated son of her unfortunate husband. Ere long after the rout of Towton he had to receive Henry himself, a fugitive, at Kirkcudbright. He was succeeded in 1484 by his son Quentin, the records of whose times exhibit the usual 'spuilzies,' 'puttings to the horn,' and 'remissions,' following upon feudal quarrels, in which the judicial character of the Sheriff's office did not prevent him taking occasional part as a very active party.

These feudal jars broke out to a more serious extent in the time of his son, the fourth Sheriff. The period was that when,

'From Wigtoun to the toune of Ayr,
And laigh doun by the cruives o' Cree,
Ye shall not get a lodging there
Except ye court wi' Kennedie.'

Sir David Kennedy, eldest son of Lord Kennedy, claimed the right of holding courts at Leswalt, where he had property, but of which the Agnews were hereditary bailies. He attempted to assert his position by force, and brought his kinsmen from Carrick. But Agnew, backed by his brother-in-law, Gordon of Lochinvar, by M'Dowalls from Garthland, Vauxes from Barnbarroch, Adairs from Kinhilt, and others, was too much for him, and in five 'tuilzies' the Kennedys had the worst of it, the defeated knight on every occasion appealing to the Courts of law, and obtaining small damages, for the loss of his mens' accoutrements, and the 'forethought oppression' suffered. Created Earl of Cassilis in 1511, and Ranger of the Forest of Buchan, he subsequently gave his old adversary some trouble from the position of advantage afforded by a seat at the Council Board. These irritations were soon lost in the presence of a great national calamity, which descended with special force on the baronage of Galloway. There fell on the fatal field of Flodden, the Sheriff's uncle, Sir Alexander Gordon of Lochinvar, Sir Alexander Stewart of Garlies,

father-in-law of his son, Adair of Kinhilt, whose son married his daughter, the M'Dowalls of Garthland, Freuch and Logan, his adversary the Earl of Cassilis, M'Culloch of Myrton, Sir William M'Clellan of Bomby, Lords Maxwell and Herries, Sir William Douglas of Drumlanrig, the Master of Angus, and his brother William Douglas, the first of Glenbervie. The story of Glenbervie's end is one of the most honourable in the records of a gallant house, and worthy of the progenitor both of the young Earl of Angus, and of the gallant Sir Robert of Glenbervie, who fell at Steinkirk. It is recorded that when the day was going against the Scots, William Douglas with a compact body of 200 men made for the bridge over the Till, where he could have covered the retreat, and prevented the defeat becoming disaster. The quick eye of Surrey caught the movement, and turning to one of the English lords beside him, he asked, 'What banner is that above those spears?' 'That,' was the reply, 'is the Douglas banner.' 'Then,' said Surrey, 'the victory is not complete while that banner keeps the field,' and he despatched an overwhelming force against the band of Douglas's men, who fought so well, that of the two hundred only sixteen survived. Old Archibald 'Bell the Cat,' himself, was so overwhelmed with grief at the disaster that had followed his warnings that he retired to Whithern to spend the remnant of his days in prayer. There is reason to believe that the fourth Sheriff of Galloway was sore stricken in the fight, for he returned only to die a few months later.

We find the fifth Sheriff, along with his uncle old Lochinvar, and Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig, engaged in one of the 'clear the causey fights' in Edinburgh, their antagonists being the M'Lellans, which ended in the Laird of Bomby lying dead at the door of St. Giles Church. Peace was only restored when the young Laird of Bomby fell in love with Lochinvar's daughter, one of the marriage presents being 'letters of slains,' presented by the bridegroom to his father-in-law, 'and all his associates in the slaughter aforesaid.' It is curious to find that when the fatal hour came for the Red Douglasses, the attitude of many of the Galloway barons was different from what it had been when their backs were galled by the yoke of Threave. Andrew Agnew and several of his neighbours were pursued 'for abiding

from the king's host and army at Tantallon.' But a few years later when James V. sailed for France to seek a bride, the balance was restored to Agnew and several of his friends by an extraordinary 'exemption from answering to the courts of law for any misdemeanour whatsoever committed by them during the King's absence.' The doctrines of the Reformers had now begun to permeate Scotland, and seem to have made rapid progress in Galloway, where a number of the leading men, such as the Earl of Cassilis and Gordon of Airds, were strong sympathizers with the new movement. The result of the broad questions of policy now raised and the French alliance, was the war with England signalized by the disastrous field of Pinkey Cleugh. When 'in the fallow fields of Inveresk the dead bodies lay as thick as a man may notte cattell grazing in a full plenished pasture,' among the dead were Andrew Agnew, his uncle Lochinvar, the Lairds of Garthland and Freuch, the Laird of Bennane and his son, Vaux of Barnbarroch, and George, Master of Angus.

Andrew who fell at Pinkie was succeeded by his son Patrick, who soon had occasion to exercise his powers of 'summoning gatherings of armed men,' and did good service by bringing the Wigtonshire men to the relief of Kirkcudbright beset by the English under Sir Thomas Carleton. His generation saw the Reformation accomplished, and he was the first of his line buried in the Church of Leswalt with Protestant rites. He and others of his neighbours were frequently summoned for advice and consultation by the Regent Moray, yet at Langside he is seen with Gordons, Kennedys, and others of his kinsfolk fighting for Queen Mary. On that occasion the Galloway men helped themselves to the best of the spare horses of their comrades and so distanced their pursuers. The story of his generation comprises feudal jars, 'convoking the lieges bodin in fear of weir,' and other scenes of violence, and on the occasion of 'a law-day at Edinburgh,' the Earl of Cassilis in asking the presence of his friends 'thinks it meetest that every man should have his jak.' We find the ninth Sheriff acting as an assizer at the trials that followed the Raid of Ruthven, receiving King James VI. at Lochinvar in 1587, and obtaining leases of lands in Ireland from Sir Randall M'Donnell, the first Earl of Antrim. Andrew

Agnew, the seventh Sheriff, who succeeded in 1590, had already been appointed 'Justiciar' upon the narrative that 'there are very many persons in our shire of Wigton who cannot behave orderly,' was knighted, and was made Chamberlain of Galloway.

His son Sir Patrick lived in times when the quarrels of the Kennedys and the pretensions of the Earl of Cassilis again asserted, were succeeded by larger broils involving greater interests than even a Warden Raid or a pitched battle between the forces of England and Scotland. We find him as one of the Commissioners for Wigtonshire in connection with Charles I's valuation of teinds, and its representative in the first Parliament in which it is said any interest in their political privileges was shown by the constituents. Created a baronet in 1629, he was one of the assize who tried Lord Balmerino, while his eldest son sat in the fateful General Assembly of 1638, and two of the younger held commissions in the earliest raised regiments of the Covenanting army. Of these, James became Colonel of Lord Kircudbright's cavalry regiment, which rose to high reputation, inflicting at Philiphaugh the fatal blow on the career of great Montrose. Colonel James Agnew then received the thanks of Parliament for 'the services of himself and his regiment,' and was voted 15,000 merks. It is curious to find in the Parliament of 1643 a complaint of 'the five or six poor shires of the west paying more taxation than all Scotland besides,' and that 'after long debate the matter was accomodat, and some reason is lyke to be done to the west.' Sir Patrick Agnew survived to 1661, but did not take an active part in public affairs. Indeed, in 1649 he resigned his Sheriffship in favour of his son, and there seems ground to believe that the reason was that he had no great love for the way public affairs were going during his latter years. While his son, 'the young Sheriff,' as he is designed, was active in the Estates, on the committees of war, and in providing provisions for the Scots army in Ireland, and in the later stages of the strife, in 1650, is identified with the more moderate of the two parties into which the Covenanters were divided, his father on the same occasion is described as a Cavalier. Be that as it may, there could be no doubt as to the actions of his eldest son,

Andrew, and James and Alexander, respectively Colonels of Lord Kirkcudbright's and Lord Galloway's regiments.

From the first Andrew Agnew took an energetic part in the struggles of the time. He sat constantly in Parliament down to 1650, and in 1644, along with M'Dowall of Garthland, received full powers for the conduct of the war in Ireland. He was on the grand committee 'for governing the kingdom' in 1649, and though the hand of Cromwell for some time lay heavy upon his house, especially in Ireland, where four kinsmen of his name were included in the list made out 'for the removal of all popular Scots out of Ulster,' the intention being to transport them to Tipperary, though his Irish lands were sequestrated, and he was superseded as Sheriff of Galloway by 'Colonell Matthew Alured, Esquire,' acting 'in name and authoritie of the keeper of the liberties of England,' while on one occasion he was carried off from his own house by a band of adventurous Cavaliers, he was in 1656 reinstated in his sheriffdom, which was extended to include the whole of Galloway. It is interesting to notice that, in 1657, he had raised letters of horning against the heritors of Wigtown for 1,500 pounds Scots 'for the charges and expenses in attending the Scots Parliament,' which was levied upon the heritors, 'the rents of nobillmen, and yr. vassalls being excepted.' On the Restoration he was fortunate enough to obtain a Ratification of his Sheriffship of Wigtown, but his name headed for £6,000, the Galloway list of fines imposed upon 'some whose guiltiness has rendered them obnoxious to the laws.' Still he was able to add largely to his house of Lochnaw, yet it is melancholy to note that, three years before his death, in 1671, in making his will, he had to 'seriously consider the condition of my estait, and the many troubells cumin laitly upon me unexpected.' He left a minute account of his Sheriffdom, preserved in the Advocates' Library.

His son, Sir Andrew, saw his castle of Lochnaw occupied by the 'kilted crusaders' of the Highland host, while he, in the words of his descendant, 'occupied along with his eldest son unfurnished lodgings on the seashore, in a cave, still pointed out under the Sea King's camp at Larbrax Bag.' He was in 1682 superseded in his Sheriffship by 'bonnie Dundee,' the Scottish

Privy Council having, in the words of Chalmers, 'sent down the well-known John Grahame of Claverhouse to show the Agnews, at the end of 230 years, how to execute the office of Sheriff.'

The stranger soldier-sheriff left a very different reputation in Galloway and on the braes of Athole, and it is amusing to find him, in one of his letters, indulging in the reflection: 'I wish the Gordons here were transplanted to the north, and exchanged with any other branch of that family, who are so very loyal there and disaffected here.' On the landing of William of Orange, Sir Andrew Agnew presided at a meeting of the Galloway baronage, and again when the Prince's letter was read at Wigtown. He was elected to the Convention of Estates, restored fully and freely to his Sheriffship, while his eldest son was empowered to lay an embargo on all Irish vessels found in Galloway. A large part of King William's army sailed from Loch Ryan for Ireland, having suffered severely from an epidemic while encamped on the Galloway shores. One of his sons died at Inverness, serving under Mackay as a cornet in the Royal Scots Dragoons, while two other kinsmen were in the same famous regiment. It is interesting to find one of these asking the Sheriff, in 1693, for 'your large gray horse, who, I suppose, will make a better dragoone.' Having transferred his estates to his son, James, Sir Andrew Agnew died in 1702. He had represented Wigtownshire in the Parliament of 1685, and in those of King William down to his death.

Sir James Agnew's Sheriffship was cast in different times from those of his predecessors. He had taken his share in the contest of the Revolution, but found his most congenial sphere in the improvement of his estates and in the breeding of cattle. Indeed, the utilitarian zeal then beginning to assert itself went so far in his case that he drained the beautiful lake of Lochnaw, which, a hundred years later, his descendant restored. He parted with the Irish estates of his family to a kinsman, Agnew of Kilwaghter. In the rising of 1715 Galloway was divided against itself. The men of the Stewartry, strong in the enthusiasm

> 'That Kenmure's Lord's the bravest Lord
> That ever Galloway saw,'

were mainly for the Stewarts and against the Union, but in the western districts, where the influence of Lord Stair and the Sheriff, who were in constant correspondence, was strong, the Whig partizans were numerous. Though he resigned his lands and offices in favour of his son in 1726, Sir James Agnew lived until 1735.

His son, the twelfth and last hereditary Sheriff, is perhaps the most interesting and certainly the best known figure of their long line. There never was a more characteristically Scotch general officer, and familiar as this age is with the heaven-born soldier on the bench, there was never a sterner disciplinarian in the seat of justice than 'the doughty Sir Andrew.' Whether in that not uncommon feature of the activities of his generation, the runaway love match with a fair cousin, or presiding in hunting-boots in his Court, and silencing the contentions of the bar with a thud of his hunting-crop on the table, and an emphatic exclamation of 'Scoonrels, blethering loons;' whether with the Greys at Ramilies, or at Dettingen expressing to a staff-officer his cool conviction, 'Sir, the scoundrels will never have the impudence to attack the Scots Fusiliers,' and when satisfied they were in earnest by a bullet knocking a chicken bone out of his hand, laconically exhorting his young soldiers, 'My lads, ye see these loons on yon hill there; if ye dinna kill them, they'll kill you;' by judicious tactics and steady control annihilating the gallant 'Mousquetaires Gris' of France, and replying to his sovereign's pleasantry on the cavalry having ridden through his line, with the words, 'Ay, Sire, but they didna gang back again;' whether, declaring to his wife and chaplain, who thought they had fulfilled his wishes in naming a son born in absence, 'When ye christen a bairn ye should ken what to call it. It's well the wean's no likely to be the heir. Stair! Sir Stair! Sir Deevil!' or when, 'gran' warrior' and 'braw soldier' as he was, he took command with less success of forming operations; whether 'curing with his good cane a sham cripple,' or when having scores to settle with a Galloway bull, he brought his gun, and disdaining to fire from shelter exclaimed, 'Ye had me at a disadvantage, ye Tory, but I'll fight ye fairly noo,' Sir Andrew Agnew was always energetic and amusing, and affords a noted example of the qualities of strength

of character and shrewd sagacity, coupled with a dash of humour and eccentricity that was specially developed in the Scottish gentleman, and the Scottish old lady, of last century. His defence of Blair Castle is the most creditable and picturesque passage in the achievements of the Government troops during the '45. Most characteristic was the remark on Lord George Murray's cannonade, 'Is the loon clean daft knocking doon his ain brither's house;' the order, when it was discovered that the persistent fire on a particular turret was caused by a straw figure set up in the General's uniform by some lively subalterns, 'Let the loon that set it up just gang up and tak it doon;' and the welcome to the relieving force when the garrison had been almost starved out, 'My Lord, I am glad to see you, but by all that's good you have been very dilatory, and we can give you nothing to eat.' Could there be anything better than the welcome and farewell to the Duke of Cumberland as he visited the Castle where gallantry had not been tarnished by cruelty, on his return south? To the piper on the green, a shout from the window above, 'Blaw, blaw ye scoonrel, dinna ye see the King's ain bairn,' and to the Prince himself as he rode off after promising that the defence would not be forgotten, 'Dinna forget, Sir, dinna forget.'

The royal memory brought to the gallant soldier a Colonelcy of a regiment of Marines, and subsequently the Governorship of Teignmouth Castle, but his services had contributed to bring to an end the honourable office so long held by his family. The abolition of the heritable jurisdictions followed upon the suppression of the Jacobite rising, and while the principle of compensation was recognised, the claims sent in were very closely scrutinized by the Court of Session, and the assessments in most cases cut down with an unsparing hand. The Court held that the only family who could produce proof of having held an hereditary sheriffship from the time of James II., was that of Agnew of Lochnaw, whose charter as verified was dated in 1451. The Earl of Argyle came next with a charter of 1473, and only in these two families, and those of the Earl of Rothes, and Murray of Philiphaugh had the office been continuous since 1567. In Aberdeen and Inverness the Duke of Gordon, in Forfar Lord Gray,

in Berwick Lord Home, in Lanark the Duke of Hamilton, and in Ayr Lord Loudon, held the same sheriffships in 1747 as their ancestors had held in 1567, but their hereditary claims were not held to be proved. Sir Andrew Agnew was fortunate in having an unusually large proportion of his claim allowed, having claimed £5000, and receiving £4000.

So came the 'end of an auld sang.' While necessary in the course of public development, it does not seem that the change was found to be so great an improvement at all events in Galloway by the ordinary opinion of the community. They 'aye preferred gentlemen's law,' was in fact a sentiment frequently expressed, and the system had had its compensations. 'In such days as those of the Test and Conventicle Act,' says Sir Andrew Agnew with reason, 'mere government officials would have hunted out and shot down the poor Covenanters like so many vermin. Not so the feudal magistrates. In almost every instance, save in the case of two or three such as Lagg, whose names became a byword, the hereditary officials even at the risk of incurring penalties themselves, exerted themselves to mitigate the vigour of the law, and minimise the sentences against the proscribed. And this be it remarked quite apart from any approval of the principles of those condemned.' There was even a satisfaction in contemplating the glory reflected on all around by a local pit and gallows. It was a retainer of the Earls of Galloway, who when regarding the progress of centralisation and civilisation sighed: 'Yerl John was nae yerl, and Yerl Alexander was nae yerl ava. Yerl James was the man! He'd hang them up just o' his ain word. Nane of yer law!'

Sir Andrew Agnew survived till 1771. Though the Hereditary Sheriffs were no more it is interesting to note that his surviving son, Sir Stair, continued the attention of the preceding generations to agricultural improvement. He was succeeded by his grandson, Sir Andrew Agnew, who represented Wigtownshire in Parliament from 1830 to 1837, and was noted for his conscientious devotion to legislation involving religious and moral considerations, and he in his turn by the late Sir Andrew Agnew, who having similarly represented his native county from 1856 to 1868, has done it the further service of leaving behind him the

painstaking and interesting records of its past from which these pages have been quarried. The work is one of the most fascinating and brightly told family histories ever written, but it is much more. It makes the past live. It overlooks nothing that can contribute to bringing before the mind, the everyday life, the surroundings, and sentiments of different ages and of all classes of the community. It breathes a spirit of sympathy with all sorts and conditions of men, and of broad toleration towards all parties and opinions, to which those who knew the writer were no strangers. It pricks the bubble of impossible legends with a genial cynicism, but it teems with anecdotes racily told illustrating the manners and traditions of the Galloway folk, lairds and labourers, saints of old and ministers of a later day, witches and criminals. In particular, it deals very carefully and fully with the Celtic etymology of the province, and it makes good use of the materials to which the author had access in his own and his neighbour's charter-chests. Fortunate is the district which finds so well equipped, so pleasant, and so fond a chronicler, as in this important contribution to her history has fallen to the lot of Galloway!

Like all other Scottish houses of importance the Agnews of Lochnaw were surrounded and supported by their cadets, who took rank among the lesser baronage or proprietary of the county. Of these the leading families were the Agnews of Croach or Loch-Ryan, founded by a son of the second Sheriff in 1460, the last of whom died unmarried in 1736, when the property went through an heir female to the Wallaces of Craigie; the Agnews of Galdenoch, dating from 1574, who sank under the troubles of the period before the Revolution, but one of whom, a sea-captain and merchant in Belfast, when the Protestants of Ulster were being chased into the sea by Lord Duleek's Irish horse in 1689, opened fire on the dragoons from his ship with four guns, rescued 78 fugitives and carried them safely to Scotland; the Agnews of Wigg, sprung from a son of the sixth Sheriff, who survived in the male line till 1738, and the Agnews of Sheuchan descended from the eighth Sheriff, whose heiress in the fourth generati married John Vans of Barnbarroch. A younger son of t eleventh Sheriff served with distinction in the American W

fell at the battle of Brandywine, leaving descendants who did good service to their country as soldiers and sailors. In France, in England, in Scotland, and in Ireland, the same general note dominates the actions and the principles of the race. Loyal to the king, and champions of social order, they are always found on the side of constitutional government, of national consolidation, and of civil and religious liberty. Whether as Huguenots in France, fighting for the religion, as English barons aiding to secure the great charter, as landowners or sea-captains helping to civilize Ulster, and protecting the flying Protestants; as Scottish Covenanters and Revolution Whigs, or as the King's men representing the national authority in an age of feudal strife and violence, and as the King's soldiers in a gallant though unfortunate struggle for imperial unity, they illustrate a type of character that has done much to promote and to secure social progress, and contributes largely to the stability of a state. If our lot is cast in days when 'civil and religious liberty,' as our fathers understood it, has lost its charm, when the creed of the hour is to loot and ruin and tyrannize over minorities, when the canon of political and social virtue is to have an evil eye because another man's is good, when envy of all eminence and 'covetous desires for the property of other people' are the motives most constantly and unblushingly appealed to by politicians, there is all the greater pleasure in transporting ourselves to those periods of our annals when men were engaged in building up rather than pulling down, and in tracing the individual contributions of the past to the great heritage which this generation is to a large extent engaged in squandering. In all ages there are lessons to be learned from the study of how in the past recurring causes operated towards progress and consolidation, or to the loss of advances already made, and a progression from discontent to disturbance, and from disturbance to civil war. To the illustration of such lessons the history of Galloway contributes its own quota.

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ART. VI.—SOME HERETIC GOSPELS.

THERE are now at London and Oxford two MSS., to which dates considerably earlier than that of the earliest text of the Canonical Gospels yet discovered, have been assigned by competent scholars.* Both came from the Thebaid, both are in the Sahidic dialect of the Coptic tongue, and both are confessedly the work of Gnostic heretics. But who were the Gnostics?

For the purpose of this article, it may be enough to say that *Gnostic* is the generic name applied to those eclectic sects who swarmed, in the early part of the second century, throughout the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire. Of pre-Christian origin, they took from the Greeks some of the more obvious tenets of the philosophers and the vague and dreamy doctrines traceable in the Mysteries; from the Jews, the fantastic notions of the scribes as to the interpretation of the Old Testament and the power of names and numbers, together with the systematized demonology, magic, and astrology which swarms of Jewish charlatans were then diffusing through the Western world; while, with these apparently incongruous elements, they contrived to mix the Christian assertion of the divine mission of Jesus, whom they claimed as their great hierophant and instructor. Some have thought, too, that they can trace in the patristic account of their tenets, borrowings from the Egyptian, Persian, and Buddhist religions; and, although the proofs of this are slight, nothing is more probable. For the Gnostics (with few exceptions) aimed at a vast syncretism which should include men of every faith, so long as they were willing to acknowledge that their new teachers alone possessed the key to that knowledge, or *Gnosis*, which could give salvation to its initiates. Gnosticism was, in fact,

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* Flinders Petrie, *Coptic Manuscripts* (Lond., 1893), p. 3. Amélineau, *Le Papyrus Gnostique Bruce, Notices et extraits, &c. Acad. des Inscr.*, t. xxix., pt. 2 (Paris, 1891), p. 76.

like some later attempts of the same kind, a sort of bastard philosophy which professed to explain the nature of God, the origin of evil, the creation of the world, and the destiny of man, by discovering, with the help of a pretended revelation and childish miracles, a hidden meaning in books and ceremonies on which ordinary people had hitherto been content to place a different interpretation. Yet in the second century, and in the welter of all creeds which was slowly sapping the foundations of the Roman Empire, these sects, too, had their golden age. Among the Gnostics of that time were to be found men learned, philosophical, and pious, according to the philosophy and piety of the time; and such leaders often succeeded in converting from Paganism those rich and highly-placed persons who would never have condescended to listen to the simple teaching of the fishermen of Galilee. These converts, too, never returned to Paganism, but in most cases passed into the Catholic Church, to which Gnosticism thus became, in some sort, a feeder. But as Christianity became more widely known, it ceased to require such aid, and, as the Gnostic sects were constantly receiving fresh infusions of Oriental ideas, the antagonism between the Catholics and themselves became daily more marked. At length, when Christianity entered into alliance with the Empire, all the resources of the State became available for the suppression of heresy, and Gnosticism was driven under the surface to drag out a lingering and spasmodic existence up to very nearly the time of the Protestant Reformation. During the persecution thus instituted, most of the Gnostic books disappeared; and our two MSS. doubtless owed their escape from the Byzantine Inquisitors only to the unfamiliar language in which they were written.

To turn now to the actual documents: the one which I am convinced is the earlier in date is in the British Museum, where it has remained since its purchase, in 1765, from the celebrated antiquarian Dr. Askew. It is generally called (for a reason which will afterwards appear) the *Pistis Sophia*, and is on parchment, written on both sides and in two columns, after the fashion of the *Codex Alexandrinus*, its neighbour in

the galleries of the Museum. The characters are said by good authorities to be those of the sixth century,* though this gives us no clue to the real date of the work, the copy we have being manifestly the transcript of older documents. It was first noticed by Woide (Librarian of the Museum and Minister at the King's German Chapel Royal at St. James's), who drew attention to it in a German Encyclopædia in 1778, and published some extracts from it in his *Appendix to the Codex Alexandrinus* in 1799. Further excerpts were made by the learned Dulaurier in the *Journal Asiatique* of 1847, with a promise soon to publish a complete translation; but this promise remained unfulfilled at Dulaurier's death in 1881. At length, in 1850, Moritz Schwartze, a young German who was sent over here by the liberality of the King of Prussia, managed not only to decipher the whole of the MS., but to make a rough version in a mixture of Greek and Latin, which he would have no doubt improved later into a monument worthy of him. His premature death soon afterwards unfortunately prevented this, and Petermann's edition of Schwartze's work (published in 1851) remains the only version of the document accessible to the general public. Schwartze's version, however, is admitted by all Coptic scholars to contain serious errors, some of which he would no doubt have corrected had he survived, and the manner in which Petermann's edition was flung (so to speak) at the head of the public, without introduction, commentary, or explanatory notes, has prevented it from exciting any general notice. The late Mr. C. W. King published in 1887 some extracts from it in his work, *The Gnostics and Their Remains*, and proposed to give a complete English version later; but he too died before doing so. The graceful English of the late senior Fellow of Trinity must always give the keynote to any future attempts in the same path, but it is to be regretted that his attention was not drawn to the divisions in the MS., and also to the unwisdom of placing absolute reliance on Schwartze's version. The latter remark applies, indeed, to

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* L' Abbé Hyvernat, *Album de la Paléographie Copte* (Paris, 1887), p. 22.

all English and most German critics who have noticed the work.*

The first thing which strikes one on an inspection of the MS., is that the original work must have been written in Greek. The text not only contains a plentiful sprinkling of Greek words (common enough in all Coptic MSS.), but these words are sometimes, contrary to the Coptic habit, declined or conjugated according to the rules, not of Coptic, but of Greek accidence. In many cases, also, a Greek word is often followed by a Coptic one of exactly similar meaning, as if the scribe had been so uncertain as to the accuracy of his translation as to think it better to retain the original expression. We are therefore justified in assuming that the original author or authors wrote in Greek, which formed, besides, the literary language not only of the early Church but of all the heretic sects of the first three centuries.

The next thing to notice is that the book could not have been intended by its first author to appear in its present form. After going on continuously for 115 pages, the scribe suddenly breaks off, and leaves the rest of the page blank. It is true that the next page begins with a sentence which follows fairly well upon that with which the preceding page ends, and some Coptic-writing annotator was therefore justified in writing (as

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* In England the only writer who has treated of either of our MSS. at any length is Mr. King, whose work is noticed above ; in France, M. Amélineau, whose excellent essay, *Le Gnosticisme Egyptien* (Paris, 1887), should be read by everybody who wishes to become further acquainted with the subject. In Germany we have a study by Prof. Harnack, *Uber das Gnostische buch Pistis Sophia*, and one by Dr. Carl Schmidt, *Gnostische Schriften in Koptische Sprache.* Both these have appeared in Von Gebhardt and Harnack's series of *Texte und Untersuchungen* (Leipzig, 1891 and 1892). Prof. Harnack relies for his quotations on Schwartze's Latin version, and, on the system disclosed by the book, accepts the theory of Köstlin, an author whose criticism upon it in 1854 lacked the light cast by recent discoveries. Dr. Schmidt's work, which concerns itself more particularly with the Oxford MS., is in every way a more serious contribution to science. But his book (which is disfigured by violent hostility against M. Amélineau) requires a more careful analysis than I have yet been able to give it, and I cannot accept without examination many of his theories.

he has done) on the top of the next page, 'the Second Volume of the *Pistis Sophia*';* but it is evident from the appearance of the page that the scribe of the first volume did not intend at the time that he finished it to resume his task. After some hundred pages more we come suddenly upon another stop in the middle of a very interesting sentence, and the script is not resumed for the space of a page. Immediately after the break, the same commentator as before has written, '*Part of the Texts of the Saviour.*' When the text begins again, it is with a sentence that has no apparent connection with the one so abruptly ended, and as will be afterwards seen, the subject of the book then changes. Again, after not quite one hundred pages more, the third part comes to a stop with the promise of further revelations. But we are still not at the end; after a further blank, again followed by the words, '*Part of the Texts of the Saviour*,' the section opens with a sentence which appears to be the beginning of a fresh treatise, and continues with a *lacuna* of about seven pages for another sixty, when it comes, like the two last, to an abrupt conclusion in the middle of a sentence. It is plain, therefore, that, assuming the first and second volumes of the *Pistis Sophia* to have been written continuously (as I think they were), we are yet without its conclusion, and that the two books which go to help out the volume are both fragmentary in themselves, and not necessarily by the same author. We have, in fact, a scrap-book in which have been preserved the fragments of at least two older works, and, as we shall see later, the collector has taken much pains so to choose his material that each separate section relates to a part of the subject not previously dilated upon.

Now these writings, like the other MS. mentioned later, and, indeed, like the works of all Christian Gnostics quoted by the Fathers, are permeated by one central idea. This is the conflict of the Divine principle with matter, and the effect that it

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* Dulaurier, whom Renan (*Marc Aurèle*, c. 7) follows, wishes to read the 'faithful Sophia.' He is certainly wrong in point of grammar, but his view finds some support in the fact that the MS. speaks of her once or twice as Sophia only.

has on the future of mankind. The Deity is conceived of as a perfect Being, transcending the universe, and unspeakable and incomprehensible by man. He is typified as light, and manifests himself to the world by a series of emanations, or worlds filled with beings, who, like rays, become less glorious the further they get from their central source. At length they come into contact with that which is supposed to be most opposite to God, namely, matter, and from this mixture, the material world and man are born. But the confusion will not be allowed to exist for ever; and when the appointed time has arrived, the elements of light will be eliminated from matter, which will then be entirely destroyed. With this preface, I hope we shall be able to follow the author with some insight into his meaning.

The *Pistis Sophia* opens with the statement that Jesus spent eleven years after the Resurrection in giving his disciples instruction concerning the heavens situated immediately above the earth, and the spirits which inhabit them. At the time the book opens, the disciples are not aware that there exists any world higher than these, and think that they know all that is to be known with regard to the structure of the universe. But as they are sitting with their Master on the Mount of Olives, a great 'power' or shape of light descends upon Jesus and takes him away from them, the prodigy being accompanied with terrible earthquakes and commotions in the sky. The next day he returns and tells them that the power which they have seen was 'a vesture of light,' or in other words, his heavenly nature which he had laid aside before being born into this world. He reminds the disciples that he has often told them that the souls of the twelve Apostles are of a different nature from those of mankind, he having brought them with him from one of the lower heavens on his descent to the earth; and goes on to describe how he had caused the soul of Elijah to enter into the body of John the Baptist, and provided for the birth of his own sinless body in a somewhat similar way from his mother Mary. After this digression the revelation proper begins. For the disciples learn that at the boundary which they imagined to be the upper limit of the

universe, there were laid up for Jesus two other vestures of light belonging to yet higher worlds, which invest him with attributes equal to those of his heavenly Father. This Father, who throughout the book is called the 'First Mystery,' is not the supreme God, but his greatest emanation, through whom the universe was made and exists.

Jesus then begins the account of his upward passage: after leaving this earth, he passes through several firmaments, the spirits in which are struck senseless by the light of his vesture, until he arrives at the twelve Æons, or signs of the Zodiac, the Archons (or rulers) of which are wicked. He takes away a third part of their power and alters their course, so that mankind will no longer be able to predict the future by means of the sorceries taught them by the sinning angels. It is perfectly plain, even if we did not know it from other sources, that the author is here talking of the stars. After leaving the signs of the Zodiac, Jesus ascends to a higher firmament called, oddly enough, the 13th Æon, below which he finds the spirit Pistis Sophia (Faith-Wisdom), whose name gives the title to, as her adventures take up, the greater part of this book. She is one of the spirits belonging to the powers who are called those of the *left*. Although there is much mystery concerning these left-hand powers,—in fact, Jesus on one occasion absolutely refuses to let his followers into the secret of their origin—it is plain that they are concerned with the regulation of the material part of the universe, in which capacity they even have a share in the formation of the material body of Jesus. They are presided over by one who is called the great Propator (forefather) and sometimes the Invisible God, apparently because these are the first powers who, unlike the stars, are beyond the reach of mortal sight. With this deity is associated a female power called Barbelo,* and three Triple

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* A name frequently mentioned by the Fathers as one of the Gnostic goddesses. Harvey, the English editor of St. Irenaeus, translates it 'God in Tetad,' M. Amélineau '*fils du Seigneur*,'—surely a curious title for a female power. I believe myself that it is nothing more than a corruption of Babel or Babylon, but my reasons would take too long to explain here.

Powers. Then come the twenty-four Projections,* arranged in twelve pairs of male and female, of which pairs Pistis Sophia and her spouse are the last. This is the order in which they were originally placed, but sometime before the story opens, Pistis Sophia has caught sight of the light of the Treasure-house, the repository where the light as it is won from this world is stored up. Filled with longing at the sight, she sings praises to it, and thus awakes the wrath of the lowest of the three Triple Powers, who is called the Proud or (Self-willed) God. To effect her ruin he projects from himself a great power with the shape of a lion, who is half flame and half darkness, and sends him with some other material projections in the shape of serpents into Chaos, the unformed mass which has received no light. Pistis Sophia falls into the snare, and taking the shining of Jaldabaoth,† the lion-shaped power, for the light of the Treasure-house, leaves her place and her spouse, and descends to Chaos. Here she is seized and tormented by the lion-shaped one and his fellows, their object being to deprive her of the light which is in her. On this she begins to sing her Confessions or hymns of Penitence to the Light, to the number of thirteen. These penitences are given at great length, and their 'interpretations,' or comparison with different passages of the Canonical and Apocryphal Scriptures, are so intolerably tedious that even the Coptic scribe found himself compelled to abridge in places. Yet they repay perusal, for they supply many links in the system disclosed by the book which we should otherwise miss. After her seventh hymn of penitence, Jesus takes pity on her. Although he has no command to do so from his Father, he procures her some relief, but her tormentors soon set upon her again, and her hymns are renewed with many imprecations on the powers who have

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* This corresponds to the word in the text, and is taken from the metaphor of a tree putting forth leaves. It seems to be different from *emanation*, and also from *procession*, both which terms are used in the MS. with respect to the higher powers only.

† A name which is said to mean 'son of Chaos,' and was even more common among the Gnostics than Barbelo. Origen says it belonged to magic, and it is sometimes met with in the magic papyri.

brought her to such a plight. After three more songs, (no doubt all the numbers have a mystical meaning) Jesus receives the command of his Father to go to her assistance in secret. He accordingly does so, her hymns now turning to songs of joy, while the lion-shaped power casts forth a multitude of projections uselessly. But the Proud God sees the imminent defeat of his scheme, and sends another power in the shape of a flying arrow, while a demon from Adamas, the King of the wicked Æons, with one blow strikes down Pistis Sophia again into Chaos. Finally, after her thirteenth hymn she is borne out of Chaos by Gabriel and Michael at the command of Jesus, who himself gives battle to her tormentors, strips them of their power, and renders them incapable of ever again returning from Chaos. Pistis Sophia is then established in a place below the thirteenth Æon, her original home, and is warned by Jesus that she will be again tormented 'when three times are fulfilled.' This happens as predicted immediately before Jesus re-assumes his garment of light. He then delivers her for the last time, and restores her to her spouse in the thirteenth Æon, when she sings her final song of thanksgiving. As the primitive Church considered Jesus to have suffered in his 30th year, we may suppose the 'three times' to be three decades, and the first part of the story of Pistis Sophia to have therefore taken place immediately before the Nativity.

Thus ends the episode of Pistis Sophia, and the rest of the book is taken up by the question, upon it of the Apostles and the faithful women, Mary Magdalene, Mary the Mother of Jesus, and Salome. In the answers to these questions the theology of the book is revealed, but the form in which they are given is extremely involved, and presents the chief difficulty of its interpretation. However, with the details given by the Fathers as to the tenets of the Gnostics generally, it is possible to construct out of them a coherent system, of which nearly all the important lines can be traced with fair accuracy. This I shall now try to summarize, disregarding as far as may be the extreme complication of firmaments, heavens, receptacles, lights, mysteries, and spirits, reckoned forward and backward, interlacing and overlapping each other, and described by different

names in different parts of the book, the mere thought of which caused, as he tells us, an acute attack of giddiness to the editor of Schwartze's version.

The composition of the universe according to the Pistis Sophia is as follows:—The highest world is that of the Ineffable, which is nowhere described at any length, all the promised explanations regarding it being either by accident or (as Mr. King thought) by design, broken off or mutilated. From the allusions, however, in the text, and from some additions and intercalations made thereon by some later annotator, we learn that it is inhabited by several orders of spirits, who are apparently disposed in a manner corresponding to the different limbs or members of the human body. At the head of, or perhaps transcending this highest world, stands the Ineffable, or Supreme God, of whom as his name implies, nothing can be said or predicted, save that he is the source from whom everything flows. He takes an active, though an indirect share in the government of the Universe, and is represented as far as the world immediately above the earth by a legate. But He himself knows all things and commands all things. He it is who has appointed the time when Jesus shall reassume his heavenly 'vesture,' and it is through His arrangement that the whole scheme for the redemption and purification of the Light from matter is kept working.

Below this highest world stands the world of the First Mystery. With its divisions we need not here trouble ourselves, but it is inhabited by a vast number of spirits, amongst whom we find a Triad and a series of twenty-four apparently corresponding to those we have already seen among the left hand or material powers. At the head of this world is the First Mystery, the great angel who, like the Logos of Philo or the Metatron of the Talmud, is the 'One Word of the Ineffable,' *i.e.*, the form in which the thought of God is manifested. He it is through whom all things go forth, and to him all things return. Yet he is in the words of the text a 'Twin Mystery,' for he is both Father and Son. When looking inwards or towards God, he is the Father by whom alone the Ineffable can be understood, but when looking 'outwards,' or towards the world, he is the

Son, the Mediator between God and man, and in fact Jesus himself.

Below this again comes the world which corresponds to the first vesture of light sent to Jesus upon the Mount of Olives. For the sake of clearness, it may be split into two parts. The upper part contains the Treasure-house of Light already mentioned, and five other worlds called the Parastatai or Helpers. The highest spirit in it is called the First Statute or the Recorder, and with him is associated the Great Light, who is said to be the legate of the Ineffable. In the Treasure-house there are also many orders of spirits, of which it is only necessary to mention the Five Trees and the Twelve Saviours. From the Five Trees emanated the great powers of the right to be next mentioned, and from the Twelve Saviours, Jesus, on his way to the earth, took the twelve souls which were incarnate in the twelve Apostles. The lower part of this world is called the Kerasmos or Confusion, and it is here that the Divine first mingles with matter. It is divided in the first instance into three parts, the right, middle, and left. Of these, the right contains the spirits who emanated from the Five Trees of the Treasure-house. At their head is Jeû, who has supreme authority over all the Confusion. He is called the Overseer of the Light, and in his name we may possibly recognise the Hebrew Jahveh.* With him is Melchisidek the Receiver or Purifier of the Light, whose business it is to take the portions of light as they are redeemed from the Confusion into the Treasure-house—while of lower rank is Sabaoth the Good, from whom Jesus received his own earthly soul. In the middle region are the powers who are specially occupied with the judging and redemption of mankind. The chief of them appears to be Iao, of whom we hear next to nothing. Then comes the Virgin of Light, the Judge of human souls, who chooses the bodies into which they shall be put on their palingenesis or return to earth. In her place is the true Sun of whose light we get in this world but a small share. There is also here a lesser

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* So Revillout *Vie et sentences de Secundus* (Paris 1873), p. 66, n. 3, and Groff *Le Décret de Canope* (Paris 1888), pp. 7-8.

Sabaoth. On the left is the thirteenth Æon, where are to be found the powers already described (and certain repenting Archons of whom we shall hear more later), with the twelve Æons below them. Below these again is the Sphere of Destiny, and below this the first Sphere. Both these Spheres are under the sway of the Archons of the Æons and all the places of the Kerasmos are peopled by a host of Archangels, Angels, and lesser powers, who are at the orders of the Archons of their place.

Lastly comes the fourth world: that of the earth, with the firmament above it. This appears to be surrounded by the Chaos out of which it was formed and which still exists. Outside this again is another or lower Chaos, and finally the thickest or Outer Darkness. All these places are filled with demons or Contentious Ones of whose origin nothing is said, though there is some reason for thinking them to be wholly material. Strange as all this may seem to modern ideas, the process of the redemption of the Light is stranger still. The confusion of light with matter seems to have begun with the Proud God whom we have seen as the chief agent in the fall of Pistis Sophia. Some time before our story opens, he has refused to give up the purity of his light when the Archons were commanded to give up theirs—probably for the purpose of making new worlds, and so reducing to order another part of Chaos. It is not so stated in words, but as a time is mentioned when the Kerasmos did not exist, we may perhaps be allowed to hazard the guess that in his desire to rule (of this he is expressly accused), he endowed with his own light a portion of Chaos. Whatever form the rebellion took, it is plain that he was followed by some of the Archons, of whom some again repented and were placed in a safe place in the thirteenth Æon. But although the Proud God is also allowed, for some unexplained reason, to remain in the thirteenth Æon, the unrepentant Archons who followed him were bound by Jeû to the twelve signs of the Zodiac and to the Sphere of Destiny which is below them. It is their practice to move as slowly as possible in order that their empire and that of their chief over all sublunary things may endure the longer. Other-

wise they would all be consumed: for Melchisedek, the Purifier of the Light, at stated times comes amongst them, and so hastens their course that their power is forced from them in the 'tears of their eyes, the breath of their mouths, and the sweat of their bodies.' These 'dregs' are caught up by the Sun and Moon, who give the lighter parts to Melchisedek to be stored up in the Treasure-house of Light, while the grosser pass into the Sphere of Destiny where they are made into the souls of mortals, according to the configurations of the stars at the time. It is by altering the courses of the stars and thus quickening the process, that Jesus is said to have shortened the times for his elect's sake.

The incarnation of souls is but a further step in the purification of the Light. Man is apparently left a free choice between good and evil during his life, but on his death the angels of the Contentious Ones seize the souls of righteous and wicked alike, and drag them down to Chaos. Here they are tormented by fire, under the directions of the Archons of Darkness, as a punishment for their misdeeds during this life. After a certain time—and it is reasonable to conclude that deliverance comes sooner for the righteous than the wicked—they are brought before the Virgin of Light, the Judge of Souls. She examines them and allots them a fresh body, varying in form according to the sins of their former existence. But here the solace of the pre-Christian, but righteous, dead ends. They are compelled to tread over and over again the dismal path of transmigration, with no hope of final deliverance, and with no other reward for their good deeds than a shorter time of torment and a more physically perfect body for their next incarnation. Even the soul of the just Elijah was found by Jesus among the rulers of the Sphere. Surely the repenting Archons, enjoying the beatitudes of the thirteenth Æon, were better off than he.

And now the Jesus of the *Pistis Sophia* unfolds to his disciples the more excellent way. The purpose of his descent to earth was to bring to the race of men certain 'mysteries,' corresponding in number to the celestial spheres. These m; e: are apparently like the Eleusinia and other Gre

(from whence the expression is doubtless derived) secret ceremonies, consisting, like them, of words and acts. But their purifying grace is so tremendous that they instantly change the position of the recipient in the scale of being. On his death, instead of being taken to the place of torment, his soul becomes a great 'flood of light,' before which all the angels of the Contentious Ones fall back in fear, and he passes like an arrow through the heavens until he comes to the hierarchy of spirits, of which he has received the mystery. This hierarchy he immediately enters, and thenceforth has power to go at pleasure into any of the worlds below it. But if the mystery he has received is that belonging to the highest or Ineffable world, he will, after flying upwards from the body, actually become one with and form part of Jesus himself, and the knowledge of all the Universe will then be at his command. Nay, the power of this last mystery is so great that if even a part of it be spoken over a dying sinner who has not been initiated, his soul will be delivered from all the torments of Chaos, and be taken immediately before the Virgin of Light, when she will place it in a righteous body that will seek after the mysteries, so that on finding them, it will free itself from further incarnations. Yet this state of things will not endure for ever. The number of souls that will be so perfected has been predestined, and will be completed 'in a little while.' Jesus will then ascend with the perfect to the heaven of the last Parastates, where he will judge the rebellious Archons, and see that the remnants of the Light be taken from them. They, together with the Kerasmos, will then be consumed, and the perfect will reign with Jesus in that heavenly country for 365,000 years, the purified souls taking rank in it according to the mystery that they have received; for 'those who have taken an exalted mystery will be in exalted places, and those who have taken humble mysteries, in humble places in the light of my kingdom.' Yet this means of salvation is not open to all. As with the Eleusinia and the mysteries of Isis,* these mysteries come only to the pure, and no one who

* Cf. Mr. Louis Dyer's *Studies of the Gods in Greece* (Lond., 1891), p. 128, n. 1. Apuleius Metamorphoses, l. xi., cap. 18 (pp. 793-794, ed. Hildebrand).

lives with the rest of the world can be pure. He, therefore, that would be saved must withdraw himself from the world. 'Say unto the race of men: Renounce the world and all the matter therein, for he who gives and takes (query traffics?) in the world, and eats and drinks its matter, and lives in all its cares and all its conversation, gathers unto himself other matter as well as his own matter: . . . Slacken not until ye find the purifying mysteries, which will purify you and make you pure light, so that ye may come on high to inherit the light of my kingdom.' Such are the last words of the Jesus of the *Pistis Sophia* to his disciples.

I do not apologise for having spent so much time over this one document because (in addition to its being by far the largest) I believe it to be the parent trunk from which the other fragments have sprung. As this may in some measure influence our view of them, it may be as well to say here what I have to say as to its authorship and date. Now those who have scientifically studied the history of religions do not want me to tell them that the notions set out in this book were peculiar to no one religion or sect existing at or about the Christian era. They were indeed the common property of the age and time, and traces of them can be found in the so-called Orphic theology and the rites of Mithras, just as much as in the Talmud and Rabbinical tradition. It is therefore hopeless to hunt among them for any indication of the source from whence this book came, and we must needs look for it to the style and language of the document itself. Here I confess I do not feel on very safe ground, because it is very difficult to say how many of the periphrases and repetitions with which the book is adorned are due to the original author, and how many to the misguiding strivings of the Coptic scribes (who were great offenders in that respect) after elegance of diction. However, I think we may fairly say that the great liking shown by the author for the employment of hymns as a vehicle of doctrine, and his love for piling up lists of divinities without attempting to describe them, point to an Egyptian; while his acquaintance with the Old Testament, and the Hebrew names which he

gives to the actors in his drama, would make us think him a Jew. Both these conditions are fulfilled by Valentinus, an Egyptian Jew, who lived between the years 90 and 160 A.D., who was the founder of a Gnostic school second only in importance to that of Marcion, and who is said by Pseudo-Tertullian to have written a book called the *Sophia*. That the uranography (so to speak) of our author does not correspond with that given by the Fathers as the system of Valentinus goes for very little, for the Fathers were never careful to distinguish between the teaching of an heresiarch and that of his followers, and in such sects as the Gnostics, opinions change rapidly. The discovery of Hippolytus's *Philosophumena*, for instance, forty years ago, completely upset the whole idea of the system of Basilides (Valentinus' master, by the way) which people had formed from the writings of St. Irenaeus and St. Epiphanius.

While these considerations, therefore, allow us to suppose that Valentinus is at least as likely to have written the book as any one else, it contains internal testimony that confines us with fair closeness to the time at which he flourished. The author seems to have been particular in his quotations to a degree unusual for the time, and in citing the Psalms of David and of Solomon he is careful to give us the actual number of the Psalm in the LXX. and the Psalter. But when he quotes the words of Jesus spoken 'aforetime,' he never refers to any one Gospel, and strings together passages from the different Synoptics in the most amazing way. It seems probable, therefore, that instead of having them before him he was quoting from some of the collections of *logia*, which we know from the testimony of Papias and others were then current. That he was either ignorant of or paid little attention to the Canonical account of the Crucifixion is plain from the silence he preserves as to the fate of Judas, who, according to him, was endowed with a sinless soul like the rest of the Apostles. And, especially, it is hard to suppose that he could have known the Gospel of St. John without quoting freely from it. The first chapter of that gospel contains statements which would need but little twisting to bring them into line with the doctrine of

the *Pistis Sophia* on the 'Twin Mystery' and the 'One Word' of the Ineffable,* and an author whose exegesis is so audacious as ours would not be likely to have been daunted by so slight a difficulty. Yet there is but one sentence in the *Pistis Sophia* that appears in St. John's Gospel to the exclusion of the others,† and that is both so short that the coincidence may be accidental, and is referred to different circumstances of time and place. Now, it is generally accepted that St. John's Gospel was first quoted by Theophilus, who became Bishop of Antioch in 170, and I think we shall therefore be safe in concluding that the *Pistis Sophia*, whether written by Valentinus or not, was composed at some date prior to this.

To return now to the London MS., there is in the last two sections a marked change from the diction of the two first. The periphrastic style of the *Pistis Sophia* proper is entirely dropped, and there is even some tendency towards the employment of a later dialect. On the other hand, the style of the two last two sections is the same, and one very ordinary Greek word which has been corrupted almost beyond recognition in the third section of the MS., is repeated in its corrupted form in the fourth. There seems, therefore, every reason to suppose that they are both extracts from the same book, and that the Coptic annotator was quite right in labelling them both *Part of the Texts of the Saviour*, although it is quite possible that these *Texts of the Saviour* may have been a collection made at different times and from different authors. The author (or editor) of the *Texts of the Saviour* was evidently well acquainted with the system of the *Pistis Sophia* from which he diverges only in very unimportant details, and he refers on one occasion by name to Pistis Sophia herself. It would appear, indeed, that he had under his eye at the time of writing the first two sections of the MS., and that his object in writing

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* In the Oxford MS. the opening words of St. John's Gospel are actually quoted and attributed to their author.

† Here are the parallel passages:—*Pistis Sophia*: 'Wherefore I said unto *you* aforetime: 'Ye are not of this world. I also am not of it.' *St. John* (Prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane): 'They are not of the world, even as I am not of it.'

was to elaborate such portions of the system of that work as he considered his predecessor had too slightly touched upon. He treats, indeed, the *Pistis Sophia* in exactly the same way as the author of the latter work has treated David and Isaiah; that is to say, he reads into certain ambiguous expressions a meaning which their author never intended them to bear, but which is necessary to give an air of authority to a new-fangled system constructed out of independent materials. If I am right in all this, there is no reason for supposing that sections three and four stand in their proper order in our MS., for it was the invariable practice of the scribes of the early centuries to arrange such fragments in order of length, a rule which seems to have been strictly followed in the present case. But as the fourth section is evidently the beginning of the original document, and treats moreover of the parts of the universe nearest to the earth, I shall take the liberty of here inverting the order of the two sections in question, and beginning with the last.

Now, this section (the fourth in the MS.) opens with a statement that after 'our Lord'* was crucified, he rose again on the third day, and that his disciples gathered round him reminding him that they had left father and mother and the whole world to follow him. This seems to have been a sort of obligatory preface to these later heretic gospels, as we find it repeated in the Oxford MS. With the next sentence we are plunged into the wildest thaumaturgy. Building apparently, on a promise by the Jesus of the *Pistis Sophia* that he would himself conduct his disciples through the upper realms,† the author represents Jesus as standing 'on the shore of the sea ocean,' and repeating an invocation in a barbarous jargon, most of the words of which are to be found in the magic Papyri of Egyptian origin in the different European museums. The powers of

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* In the *Pistis Sophia*, Jesus is never referred to save as 'Jesus' or 'the First Mystery.' The use of the title in the text goes to confirm the theory of a later date for the *Texts of the Saviour*.

† A promise which manifestly refers to the Millennium, which was then supposed to be approaching.

the left are commanded to withdraw, when the sun and moon are revealed in their true shapes. The description of them may be interesting:—'Now the disk of the sun was a great dragon, having his tail in his mouth, who climbs among the powers of the left, four powers in the likeness of white horses drawing him. But the foundation of the moon was in the fashion of a ship, of which a male and female dragon was the rudder, two white steers drawing it. And on the poop was the form of a little child having a face of glory, who rules the dragons so that they take away the light of the Archons from them.'

Jesus and his disciples then mount into the air, when they come to the 'Middle Way,' which is explained to mean the firmament below the first sphere. Here Jesus gives to the disciples some further revelations as to the rebellion of the Archons. Omitting all mention of the Proud God, he tells them that the twelve Æons were divided into two companies of six, over one of which the Adamas (here called Sabaoth Adamas) of the *Pistis Sophia* ruled, and over the other, an angel named Jabraoth; and that all the Archons rebelled, their fault consisting in the sin of concupiscence, owing to which they continued to beget 'Archons, Archangels, Angels, serving spirits and demons.' Jabraoth repented and was placed in the thirteenth Æon, as we have seen, while Adamas and his 1,800 Archons were seized by Jeû and bound to the twelve Æons and the Sphere of Destiny. Jeû set over them as guards, 360 other spirits, and over these again five other powers who are the five planets. In order to strengthen the latter Jeû infused into the planet Saturn a power from the great Propator, and into the planets Mars and Mercury powers from the two first persons of the Dynamic Trinity of the left before mentioned; while into the planet Venus he is described as pouring a power, not as one would expect from the Proud God—but from 'Pistis Sophia the daughter of Barbelo.' Evidently the author has here laid a hold of an imprecation uttered in the *Pistis Sophia* (a paraphrase of the text, 'his bishoprick let another take,') to construct e that t Proud God has been cast down fr(

place among the Triple Powers has been given to his victim. Finally, in order that the planets may have a 'good' ruler, Jesus takes a power from the lesser Sabaoth (of the middle) and binds it in the planet Jupiter, who is thus set over the whole of the starry world. Jesus then goes on to explain the use of the Middle Way. It is designed for the punishment of souls, contains 360 of the angels of Adamas, and is under the rule of five chiefs. These chiefs are devils with fantastic names, of which the Egyptian fiend Typhon and the three-faced Hecate are the only two recognisable. They, or rather their ministers, enter into man and lead him to commit the sins of cursing, murder, lying and covetousness, fornication and adultery, unjust judgment and oppression of the poor. At the death of one whom they have led into any of these sins, he is borne away to the place of the 'authority' presiding over the particular fault, where he is tormented for a term varying from thirty-three years for cursing to 150 for oppression of the poor; and he is only released upon the planet Jupiter coming into a particular 'house' or Zodiacal sign.

The descriptions of these torments causes great alarm to the disciples, and to reassure them, Jesus causes the places of the Middle Way to be hidden, and bestows upon them a mystical vision of 'Fire and Water and Wine and Blood,' which he tells them he brought with him on his entrance into the world. These are 'the Mysteries of the Light, which remit sin, and are themselves appellations and names of light.' He then returns to earth where he celebrates a sacrament with wine and water accompanied by prodigies. As this is better described in the Oxford MS., I shall not dwell upon it here, further than to say that he calls it the 'Baptism of the First Oblation,' and promises his hearers in addition a Baptism of Fire, a Baptism of the Holy Spirit and a Spiritual Chrism.* He also hints at a 'mystery of the seven vowels and their 49 powers,' which I take to be the powers of the left or of matter. But a greater mystery than them all is said to be the great

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* It will be seen that the number of these mysteries corresponds to the four divisions of the universe.

name of God, at the sound of which all powers of evil flee away.

At this point the only serious *lacuna* in the book most provokingly occurs, and when the MS. resumes we seem to have before us a part of the third section, which has somehow or other got out of its proper place. The author is now again describing the punishment of sinners, as to which he has somewhat altered his views. The number of the hells has now risen to four, which are in their order of precedence, Orcus, Chaos, the Middle Way and the Outer Darkness. The last is reserved for those who commit the unpardonable sins of blasphemy, abomination, and a particularly filthy ritual practice. The reprehensibleness of these crimes answers to the order quoted, and the stay in the lesser hells of those committing them varies correspondingly. The sins of reviling, slander, theft, and pride, are avenged by a stay of from 3 to 20 months in each of the three lesser hells, and by reincarnation in an afflicted body.* Every sinful soul spends the three days immediately after his death in being led about the world and being shown all its 'places,' but before reincarnation the Angel of Adamas gives to it a cup of oblivion which takes away its memory, not only of these things, but of the torments through which it has passed. Among the demons who preside over the torments we find the name of Ariel, the Jaldabaoth of the *Pistis Sophia* (*mirabile dictu*), Adonis, and Persephone, and many others in the shape of dogs, horses, apes, serpents, dragons, and crocodiles. Righteous souls who have not found the mysteries are to be tormented only a little, and reincarnated in a 'righteous' body under a favourable conjunction of the stars; while a second cup of understanding, wisdom and soberness in some part does away for them with the effect of the cup of oblivion. And so we get at last to the third section of our MS., which opens with an exhortation from Jesus to his disciples to preach the renunciation of sinful deeds, under penalty of the torments we have just seen, and which are here

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* There is a discrepancy between the punishm s of given here and before the *lacuna*, which s author.

enumerated all over again. The sins now mentioned for the first time as leading to the Outer Darkness are sorcery, and the teaching and hearing of false doctrine, and even refusal to listen to the Apostles. 'Say unto them who despise the doctrine of the truth of the First Mystery,' cries Jesus, 'Woe unto you for your punishment shall be evil beyond that of all men! Ye shall abide in the great frost, ice, and hail in the midst of the dragon of Outer Darkness, and ye shall not be redeemed out of the world from that hour unto ever more, but ye shall be as stones therein, and in the destruction of the universe ye shall be consumed so that ye shall no more exist.' Then follow a list of virtues and good deeds which are declared to be the 'boundaries of all the paths of those who are worthy of the mysteries,' and some terribly tedious dialogues between Jesus and his disciples as to whom and under what circumstances certain mysteries inferior to those of the two upper worlds should be given. Those who take these last named mysteries and relapse into sin are declared to be obnoxious to severer punishment than those who have never been initiated, and in some instances can only be saved from the Outer Darkness by the grace of the higher mysteries, which are declared to be 'always merciful for the remission of sins.' And now comes one of the most astonishing features of the book. Jesus avers that if a particular part of the mystery of the Ineffable be said in the name of a dead sinner, his soul will be at once redeemed from all the torments and brought before the Virgin of Light, who will put it into a righteous body. But further, if any one who has been duly and thoroughly initiated is predestined to die 'by the sword, or by water, or by the tortures which are in the law,' he has but to name a particular mystery and he will at once suffer a painless death and go to inherit the kingdom. Moreover, there is another mystery different from all these which will cast out devils, heal the sick, the halt, the maimed, and the blind, and, as it is more than hinted, bring riches to its possessor. But it is expressly stated that this mystery 'belongeth to the Archons' (or in other words to the rebellious angels), that it is given to the disciples only that they may work miracles in the countries where they are to

preach, and that they are to instruct no one else in it until they have 'established the Faith throughout the whole world.' Then follows a description of the Outer Darkness, which Jesus declares to be a great dragon which surrounds the world having his tail in his mouth. There are in his body twelve torture chambers inhabited by devils in the form of different animals, whose office is the torture of impenitent souls. Here they will, as a rule, remain till the Great Judgment, when the dragon and all his prisoners will be annihilated. Yet there are means of deliverance even here. If the 'one mystery of the Ineffable' be celebrated in the name of one in the Outer Darkness, the dragon will take his tail out of his mouth, so that the soul will drop out and will be caught up into the regions of light. But for an initiate even of the lowest grade there is still another way. He has but to know one of the twelve names of the dragon, and on pronouncing it (even in the midst of his torments) he will be delivered in the same way and with the same result. After these marvels, Jesus enters into a long description of the three-fold nature of man's incorporeal part, which he declares to consist of (1.) the Power, which is an emanation from the Deity and leads man to seek after the mysteries; (2) the Fate, which is the creature of the Archons of Destiny, and whose whole function consists in leading the man to the death pre-destined for him; and (3) the Imitative Spirit, which is the gift of Adamas king of the wicked Æons. This is a sort of envelope or mask for the soul which constantly tempts man to sin and at the judgment bears witness against him. Then follows a highly complicated and not over decent discourse on human embryology in which we need only notice two points. The first of these is that each soul is cut into two parts which are destined to be finally united, but one of which in the meantime is placed in a man and the other in a woman. The second, that the skull, the features, and the hands of the embryo are covered with 'i s' impressed by the demons, which denote the date of conception, of the entry of the soul into the body, and the day it will leave it. It is for the loosing of these
livering both the souls and bodies of men that

himself to have come: for until his coming 'no soul entered into the Light.'

So ends the *Texts of the Saviour* and no one I think can read them without being struck by the great difference of thought between these and the first parts of the London MS. Wild as the notions of the *Pistis Sophia* are, there yet breathes through the book an air of gentle and sincere piety, which more than justifies Renan's remark that its speculations are *assez belles.** It contains no cursing of heretics, no violent interferences with the laws of nature, and no attempts to frighten sinners into godliness by dwelling upon the torments of hell. Even its science, simple as it is, is (as I have said) that of the time, and is brought in apparently rather with the view of making the religious doctrines of the book acceptable to people of culture, than of giving its readers any short cuts to the secrets of the universe. It would seem, indeed, that the author prided himself not a little upon being a philosopher as well as a Christian, and this appears not only in the technical words of which the book is full, but also in his reprehension of the magic which (as Porphyry said) could concern no one who had received a philosophical training. But in the *Texts of the Saviour* all these features are completely wanting. The author's denunciations of the teachers of false doctrines are as fierce as those of a mediæval inquisitor, while the manifest pleasure with which he elaborates the different tortures prepared for the souls of sinners, reminds one of the rapturous delight in the sufferings of the damned, which was for Tertullian the most wished-for consequence of the Last Judgment. As for philosophy, in the sense of love of knowledge for its own sake, he will have none of it. *Gnosis* to him is but the knowledge of certain magical words and ceremonies, which will give the user control over nature, and at the same time enable him to escape from the consequences of his own misdeeds; and even his Great Exemplar is much less the mystic hierophant revealing a theology unintelligible to the profane, than the vulgar conjuror who performs petty wonders by the

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* *Marc Aurèle*, c. 7.

help of incantations couched in gibberish. We feel in reading these two last sections that we are already overshadowed by the ignorance, superstition, and bigotry which fell upon the world when the light of Greek learning and the Greek spirit of free enquiry were withdrawn from it.

It would therefore seem that the *Texts of the Saviour* are of later date than the *Pistis Sophia*, and this view gets much support from other considerations. The writer is acquainted with the Gospel of St. John, from which he quotes the story of the Samaritan woman. The book contains also passages, which seem to be taken from the Apocalypse of St. John and the Canonical epistles, including one which is certainly from the Epistle to the Romans, and is put with daring anachronism in the month of 'our brother Paul.' The saying, 'Be ye prudent money-changers,' which Clement of Alexandria, who did not write until the end of the second century, seems to have been the first to quote, also appears in it. On the whole, therefore, we may suppose that the *Texts of the Saviour* was not written before the year 200, and I should myself be inclined to assign to it even a later date. As to its authorship I can discover no indication whatever of real value.

There remains to be dealt with another document which is now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. It was brought by the famous traveller Bruce, from Thebes, in 1769, and has remained in the Bodleian ever since. It is written on papyrus, on both sides, and is, unlike the *Pistis Sophia*, in extremely bad condition, the climate of Oxford not having apparently agreed with it. Woide, fortunately enough, took a copy of it when it was in better condition than it is now, and with the help of this it has been deciphered and translated into French by Professor Amélineau, whose attainments as a Coptic scholar are perhaps only surpassed by those of M. Revillout, the curator of the Egyptian Museum of the Louvre. M. Amélineau thinks that the original document was written in Greek in the second or third century, and his authority in such a matter is too great for me to dispute. His tra tion has been published together with the Coptic t s *Notices et Extraits des MSS.* (for 1891) of t A

Inscriptions, and it is from this translation that I shall here quote. The Oxford, like the London MS., is divided into two parts, of which the first is headed the *Book of the Knowledge of the Invisible Gods.* This is, like the *Pistis Sophia* and the *Texts of the Saviour*, in the form of a dialogue between Jesus, here called 'Jesus the Living,' and his disciples, but I do not think it is possible to give anything like a summary of it. This is partly due to the fact that the gaps in the text are very numerous (something like the fifth of each line being wanting in the early part) but in much greater measure to the extraordinary complication of the author's descriptions, which, as we have them at present, form a sort of maze the clue through which is lost. M. Amélineau, who studied the book for eight years before publication, frankly te ls us in several places that what the author means by certain expressions he knows not 'le moins du monde.' Perhaps a quotation will best enable the reader to perceive where the difficulty lies. Thus, when the author is describing something which, according to him, surrounds the Pleroma, (or totality of the Godhead), he says,

'This is the Immeasurable Abyss, wherein is a table on which are collected three Powers, a Solitary one, an Unknowable one, and a Boundless one, in the midst of whom is found a Sonship who is called Christ the Glorifier. He it is who glorifies everyone, and imprints upon him the the seals of the Father, who introduces all into the Æons of the first Father who is alone, even he through whom everything exists, and without whom nothing exists. And this Christ bears twelve faces:—a Boundless face, a Spaceless face, an Ineffable face, a Single face, an Incorruptible face, a Solitary face, an Unknowable face, an Invisible face, a Thrice Powerful face, an Unshakable face, an Unbegotten face, and a Pure face. The places where are these twelve sources, who are called sources of the Word, full of life for eternity, are called Abysses, and also the twelve Receptacles, because they receive within them all the places of paternity of the Pleroma, and the fruit which the Pleroma has made, that is, Christ who has received the Pleroma within him.' And so on. M.

Amélineau certainly does not overstate his case when he says that such lucubrations defy analysis.

But in spite of this unintelligible stuff, it is plain that this MS. is intimately connected with the system of the *Pistis Sophia*. Not only do we find the same phraseology of Right and Left hand Powers, Triple Powers, Archons, and the rest, but in the 'Place of the Waters of Life' we meet with 'the Æons of Sophia. Within them is the true Aletheia, and Pistis Sophia is found there.' All else that can be said of this most extraordinary book is that it appears to describe the process by which the Universe emanated or was evolved from the Deity, and that its author carries the doctrine of number as a source of being, to an extent that no one else has ever dreamed of.

The second part of the Oxford MS. is a little more comprehensible, as it is also more perfect in state. It is called *The Book of the Great Word in each Mystery*, the intention of the author apparently being to give the initiate the different pass words and 'seals' (or amulets), which it was necessary for one who was uninitiated in the higher mysteries to produce on passing through the lower worlds. These are given at tremendous length, the Papyrus being profusely illustrated (so to speak) by diagrams, which profess to give the form not only of the different seals but of the worlds themselves. In all this we can but see a sort of adaptation to the Christian faith of Egyptian belief, as set forth in the *Book of the Dead*, and elsewhere, and we are heartily glad that the MS. breaks off abruptly, when, after having gone through 169 treasure-houses belonging to a Power with an unpronounceable name, the author is giving a description of the heaven of the '28th Jeû.' In the meantime, however, he has said enough to let us see that he too is treating of the same system as the *Pistis Sophia*, although he has probably very much extended and elaborated it. Moreover, he describes in passing the celebration of three of the four sacraments or mysteries noticed in both the *Pistis Sophia* and the *Texts of the Saviour*, and as these form the supreme revelation promised by both these books, the quotation of some of the details of these ceremonies may appropriately end the notice of this last of our documents.

Jesus orders his disciples to bring him from virgin hands

cups of wine and two vine branches. 'Then Jesus arranged an offering for the sacrifice. He set a cup of wine on the left of the offering and another on the right. He placed juniper (wood?) on the offering with cinnamon and spikenard, he clothed all his disciples in linen garments, and put cynocephalus root in their mouths. He put in both their hands the cypher of the 7 Voices which is 9879; he also put sunflowers (?) in their hands. He placed his disciples before the offering and Jesus stood upright above the offering. He stretched out a corner of the linen cloth, he placed upon it a cup of wine, then loaves of bread equal in number to that of his disciples, he put olive-twigs on the spot where the offering was, and he crowned them all with olive-branches. And Jesus imprinted upon his disciples this seal, whereof the interpretation is *cêzôzaz* and the name *Zazapharas*. Then Jesus with his disciples turned about to the four corners of the world, he ordered each of them to put his feet together, and he prayed saying,—"Hear me, O my father, father of every fatherhood, Boundless Light who dwellest in the Æon of the Treasure-house: let the 15 Helpers who are in the service of the seven Virgins of the Treasure-house come, even those who are set over the baptism of life and of whom these are the Ineffable names! Let them come to baptise my disciples with the water of life of the seven Virgins of the Treasure-house! Let them remit their sins and purify them from their iniquities, let their names be written in the inheritance of the Treasure-house of Light! And if thou hearest me, O my father, if thou takest pity on my disciples, if their names are written in the inheritance of the Treasure-house of Light, if thou hast remitted their sins, if thou dost blot out their iniquities, let there be a sign and let Zorocothora * bring the water of the baptism of life into one of these wine-cups." And at that instant there took place the wonder whereof Jesus had spoken:—the wine which was on the right of the oblation was changed into water. The disciples came before Jesus, who baptised them, distributing to them the offering, and imprinted upon them the seals. The

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* Said to mean 'Light Gatherer.' The same person as the Melchisedec of the *Pistis Sophia*.

disciples rejoiced with exceeding great joy, inasmuch as their sins were remitted, their iniquities covered, and their names written in the inheritance of the kingdom of the Light, because they had been baptised with the water of life of the seven Virgins of the Treasure-house and had received the sacrosanct seal.' The two other baptisms of fire and the Holy Spirit are then given in the same form, the perfumes and a few other details being only slightly different.

I have left myself but little space to say anything about the importance of these documents, but indeed I do not think it will be disputed by those in any way familiar with the subject. That they throw great light upon the mental atmosphere of the time when Christianity was struggling to the surface, by no means exhausts the interest that they have for us. Even one so cautious as the late Bishop Lightfoot did not hesitate to say that Christianity received a 'tinge' from Gnosticism, and it may well be that in these MSS. we have the original form of many side beliefs and practices which have since been accepted by the Christian Church. To point out these in detail might seem an intrusion into the province of dogmatic theology, and I will not dwell further upon them. But setting these aside, it is plain that we have here for the first time a key to the demonology, the Kabbala, and the so-called secret sciences which played so important a part in European thought during the ages of the Renascence and the Reformation, and which have left an ineffaceable mark upon our language and literature. When we speak of a man's good or evil angel, of the dead being transformed into higher beings who watch over the living, of devils snatching away men's souls at death, or of certain souls having an affinity for each other, are we really using anything else than the half-forgotten phraseology of the sects which gave birth to such books as the *Pistis Sophia*? Or when we call a calamity a 'disaster,' or speak of a man's destiny being written on his forehead, or describe an eloquent speaker as 'charming' his audience, are we not alluding to the astrology and magic which these sects introduced into Europe. It is assuredly by no accident that the hells and heavens of Dante should so closely cor ond with those of the *Texts of the Saviour*, or that the Ar d

Hecate should appear in these Coptic MSS. as well as in our own Shakespeare. Yet the beliefs of which such coincidences are the evidences have hitherto only appeared to us as mere superstitions,—that is to say, survivals—of a lost faith, and we have hitherto known no theory of the Universe or system of theology to which to attribute them. Such a system, uncouth and credulous as it is, but yet consistent and logical according to its lights, we now have disclosed to us for the first time in the *Pistis Sophia* and the *Bruce Papyrus*.

F. Legge.

Art. VII.—SHELLFISH CULTURE.

THE public of Britain do not usually concern themselves with the subject of our national fisheries, and for the most part do not recognise the value of the great quantities of fish and other marine animals obtained from the sea in the neighbourhood of our shores. As distance lends enchantment to the view, so the Behring Sea Sealing dispute, or the Lobster question of Newfoundland, bulk more largely perhaps in the thoughts of our leaders, than say the more homely subject of our herring or haddock fishery, and much more than the possible value of the shellfish which can be reared on the foreshores. Salmon seems to have a perennial interest, especially in those localities where the inevitable conflicts between 'fishers' and 'watchers' periodically take place. Yet it is very questionable whether the interest in this question amongst the fishing-class is anything like so deep or so widespread, as is the case in regard to shellfish culture.

The two aspects of the Scottish fishery question that agitate our fishermen most, are those relating to trawling on the one hand, and to the supply of bait for the line fishermen on the other. The magnitude of the trawling question is slowly penetrating the minds of our inland countrymen, but it is not my object, much less my wish, to add here to the discussion of the subject. It has formed, and is continually forming, grounds of dispute between the line fishermen and the trawlers, and for several months

it has been prominently before the public in connection with the closing of the Moray Firth against beam-trawling. The culture of shellfish happily does not afford a means of dispute or even difference, for all parties are agreed on the desirability of obtaining an adequate supply of native bait for the line fishermen.

The bait famine has been felt chiefly in the fishing villages at great distances from the mussel beds, and so acutely felt that mussels have been regularly imported from Holland and elsewhere. Amongst the fishermen, the amount of the bait bill sometimes determines whether the line fishermen are to earn merely a bare subsistence and so be condemned to a state of chronic poverty, whether in fact it is profitable for them to continue at their present occupation, or abandon the sea to recruit the swollen ranks in other industries.

While many know of the value of mussels as bait, in Scotland, unfortunately, the importance of shellfish as food is not known as it ought to be. Most of the shellfish gathered on our shores, and destined to be used as food, are deported to the midland counties of England, and only an insignificant quantity is consumed in Scotland. Familiarity may breed contempt, but contempt in this instance arises from an ignorance of the edible properties of the mollusc, which can be obtained without let or hindrance on the foreshore.

The chief shellfish used as food in these islands are the oyster, mussel, cockle, winkle, and the scallop, razorfish, limpet, and buckie. The first three species are best eaten uncooked, and only in their natural condition can their delicacy and flavour be duly appreciated. The first mentioned four are widely consumed, but the oyster is the perquisite of the classes. The mussel, cockle, and winkle, in some districts are much relished by the poor, and they can be obtained at a very reasonable price. The consumption of the others is very limited, and they are perhaps best relished when cooked, the larger adductor mussel of the scallop being eaten raw in some fishing villages. While the scallop and the razorfish are confined to restricted areas, the buckie and limpet are universally distributed in our seas, the former being a deep form, and the latter abounding on all the rocks of our shores between high water and low water marks. All a oyst-

and winkle are used for baiting the fishermen's lines; the oyster being too valuable and the winkle too small for this purpose.

In reference to sea fish—the term fish being here used in its true signification—which can roam at will throughout our seas, the agency of man is not so directly felt as in the case of our inshore fisheries. 'Fish as you will, where you will, and how you will,' the destruction of any marine species cannot take place to the same extent, as is the case amongst the members of the salmon family. By absolutely unrestricted fishing, it would be possible to practically exterminate the salmon which seeks the fresh water for the deposition of its eggs. It would also be possible to diminish the supply of our more valuable molluscs, but it would be quite impossible to destroy the different species, although destruction to such a degree might take place, and has actually taken place, that fisheries which were formerly valuable, might become of so little value that the expenditure of time and money would not warrant fishermen and others continuing to collect the particular species in some localities.

But in all our mollusc fisheries, if diminution to this alarming extent can take place, we can adopt methods in regard to two at least, viz., oysters and mussels, to increase their supply and resuscitate this branch of the fishing industry. Doubtless we are slow to learn, and to profit by the example of foreign nations, yet we might adopt the policy of these nations, to the benefit alike of the fishermen and the general public.

France and Holland, followed by the United States, have taken measures to increase the supply of oysters by following well-tried systems of culture, and the two European nations have also engaged in mussel culture, but on different lines. To the French belongs the credit of starting modern oyster culture, but success was not attained by them without failures, nor without a large expenditure of public money. Looking back over the past forty years, we are now in a position to estimate the value of M. Coste's experiments, conducted with the late Emperor's assistance, on the French coast. The successes far outweigh the serious reverses experienced in the initiation of the enterprise, and the French are deriving an income of half a million sterling from their oysters. While the methods employed in this industry

at the start may now be looked on as primitive, they were along the right lines, and laid the foundation for the high state of perfection which the cultivation of oysters has reached. That the care of the young or spat of the oyster, like the care of a brood of pheasants, would result in an increased yield of mature forms, may be said to be the first axiom of French oyster culture. The progeny of the oyster (as white and then black spat) is protected by the mother during the earlier stages of development, and is retained within the maternal mantle. The eggs, in millions, are exuded from the mother into the liquid of the mantle cavity, which they leave as larvæ when they are provided with a locomotive apparatus by means of which they perform a rotatory movement in the sea. During this stage they are carried about by every current, and the various organs of the animal are being perfected. But this free swimming stage lasts for only a short time. Their wanderings cease, and they are destined to a fixed residence for the remainder of their life, or till some marine enemy or man removes them from the place where they have settled. Once they have settled, they continue to grow both in body and in shell, and the rate of growth is conditioned by the supply of food.

The life history of the oyster being fully known, man can do much to obtain favourable conditions for its development and growth. This is bronght about as follows:—Suitable resting places for the young to affix themselves are provided, and these are arranged within reach—so to speak—of the free swimming larvæ. Experience has shown that ordinary roofing tiles of baked clay are admirable 'collectors,' and these are coated with mortar so that the young can be easily removed with the finger nail, or better, with a blunt knife, such as the oyster workers employ. The tiles, so coated, are placed in the water when the young are ready to settle, and in such a situation that the larval oysters will be drifted to them. This is effected by producing eddies which create a series of currents from where the mother oysters are located. Different places have different methods of bringing about this result, but all agree in placing the t so that they will receive the maximum of spat on a single t

After the oysters attain a size of a little more than the *detroquage*, or separation of the spat from

place, and the free oyster is carefully tended during the subsequent period of growth and fattening. Some localities are not quite so advanced as Arcachon, where oyster culture has reached its most perfect state. Instead of mortar-coated tiles, plain or uncoated tiles are used in Brittany, as also are planks of wood and stones. The primitive collectors were bunches of twigs tied together and anchored in the water, but this method of collecting the spat is no longer employed. When the spat is not collected on mortar-coated tiles, but on stones, wood, or uncoated tiles, the loss in the separation of the young oysters from one another, or from the collectors is very great. Great attention requires to be paid to the time when the tiles ought to be put in the water for the collection of the spat. If too early, the tiles become coated with young algæ and barnacles, and if too late much of the early oyster spat is lost. The oyster farmers have fixed on the happy medium, and they do not place their collectors till the water has reached a temperature of 18° C. This temperature coincides with what has been found to be the earliest time when the young oysters affix themselves to their resting places, remain there, and maintain a vigorous growth.

After the separation of the spat from the collectors, the young oysters are laid in ambulances of wire-work trays, which are so placed in the water that a plentiful supply of food will come within reach of the growing oysters. Sometimes the young oysters are transported to another locality from where they are born. Here they will rapidly fatten and grow. The spat may be sold to the greening establishment of Marennes or La Tremblade, or the oyster-farmer who desires to conduct the subsequent operations may lease a portion of the foreshore in another place, and transport his young oysters to that place for the purpose of growth and fattening. The locality selected is one where the bottom is muddy, and where the species that constitute the staple of oyster food are present in abundance. In France, and also in the East Schelde in Holland, they can produce more oyster spat than can be fattened in native waters. Consequently, great quantities of young spat are transferred for purposes of growth and fattening to areas where the spatting conditions are not so favourable, but where an abundance of food exists for the grow-

ing oysters. Many of the beds in the South of England are thus furnished with a stock of French and Dutch oysters, and the ultimate product is offered for sale in London as 'natives.' In Scotland, though it is not likely that profit may be derived from the production of oyster spat, yet it is more than probable that much of the surplus stock of French and Dutch spat could, if laid down, especially in our western lochs, attain maturity and furnish a large supply of edible oysters. This branch of oyster culture, viz., fattening, is found by the Dutch and French to be remunerative, and the greening establishments of Marennes and La Tremblade realise a profit of 100 per cent. within the few months taken to green and fatten the oysters imported from the spatting grounds.

The other shellfish that form the subject of culture is the edible mussel. While the French and Dutch are the leaders in this connection, Englishmen and Scotchmen follow their example. With us the object of mussel culture is to provide bait for the line fishermen, but the French and Dutch rear mussels for sale as food, and large revenues are derived from the sales. There are two systems of mussel culture: the old system by which the mussels are fattened on muddy banks, is followed by the Dutch and in Scotland; the *bouchot* or wattle method of mussel culture is more suitable to the deep mud of the French littoral.

Under both systems, the aims are the same, viz., the production or gathering of the young mussels, and the growth and fattening of them in a different situation. As in the case of the oyster, the young affix themselves after a short free pelagic life, but unlike the oysters they are not doomed to remain in the same fixed residence till removed by man or enemies. The oyster shell is cemented by one of its valves to rocks or stones, from which it is unable to detach itself, but the mussel is moored by its 'byssus,' or fine silk-like threads which the animal secretes. These threads are formed in much the same way as the spider produces the threads of its web from its spinning gland. The threads of the 'byssus' are exuded from cial organ in the foot and glue the mussels to rocks, g el and other mussels; but mussels can be loosed from t up another place of residence.

If the youthful mussels are left in their first resting place, they do not generally grow to a great size, but become stunted in appearance, especially if the water is of the same salinity as the sea, and usually it is too salt where the young mussels congregate. The treatment therefore consists in removing the mussel spat to water in which there is a slight admixture of fresh water, for it is there alone that the best conditions for growth and fattening are to be found.

The French use posts—unwattled—for the collection of the spat, and they remove the young mussels from their collectors, and transfer them to small netting-bags, which are tied to the branches intertwined on the wattled posts. The mussels will attach themselves in a single tide to the wattles, and the netting soon rots. After a time the mussels become fit for the market, and they fetch a good price. It would be impossible for the French mussel-farmers to conduct their operations on the bed system, as the mud is so soft and deep and the currents so strong, that the molluscs would become buried and perish. Recourse is accordingly necessary to some other system. So the poles which the shipwrecked Irishman, Walton, placed in the mud banks of the Bay of Aiguillon, on which to hang his nets for catching sea-bird, proved admirable collectors for the spat, and places of attachment for the growth and fattening of mussels. The mud banks where the French *bouchot* system is best developed, extend for three miles from the shore, and a special means of progression to reach the posts has to be adopted. The water is too shallow for boats, and the mud too deep for travelling on foot, so a mud boat or *acon* was designed, which could be easily pushed along by the fisherman and carry him at the same time. By means of the *acon* the fisherman can visit his *bouchot* and transport the spat from the unwattled to the wattled posts, and the adult mussels from the latter to the land in order to forward them to market.

The French mussel industry is carried on by the peasants of the neighbouring coasts, and as the foreshore has not been alienated by the Government, the same difficulties are not met with as in this country. The public authority grants a lease of certain portions of the foreshore for oyster or mussel culture, and the oyster beds alone produce upwards of half a million sterling per

annum to Frenchmen. Mussel culture also yields a large income, small, however, when compared with the yield from the oysters.

The Dutch Government, which is also the owner of the foreshore and bed of the sea, leases its oyster and mussel ground in convenient lots. While they conduct oyster culture on the same system as the French, like the Scotch and English they cultivate mussels on the bed, as distinguished from the *bouchot* system. The difference between the two is, that while the mussels rest on the ground or bed in the one case, they do not come in contact with the ground in the other case, but are above the ground fixed to the wattling and posts. The panacea for the mussel famine, we were told, was *bouchot* mussel culture, but the advocates for the adoption of this method in Scotland neglected to take into account the difference in climatal and other conditions in France and in Scotland.

While the *bouchot* experiment has been so unsatisfactory in Scotland, the bed system for the past forty years has been, especially at Montrose, an undoubted success. Mr. Johnston, now a member of the Fishery Board for Scotland, inaugurated the system of bed-culture, and it has been continued on the lines laid down by him, and under his guidance, till now Montrose basin yields a large annual crop of mussels for bait to the line fishermen. Mussel cultivation is also carried on in the estuary of the Eden in Fifeshire, but the natural obstacles are not so great as at Montrose. While there is a plentiful supply of spat for the Eden beds in the neighbourhood, this is not the case at Montrose, and recently large quantities of seedling mussels had to be imported from the Tay. The mussel seed is sown over the beds with a flowing tide, so that the mussels which float for a short time, owing to the air imprisoned within the valves of the shell, may be carried not sea-ward, but shore-ward. The growing banks, after the seed has been sown, are thickly covered with mussels, which may remain there after the necessary thinning at a later period, till they are fat and fit for bait. Some of the banks are more suitable than others for the growth of mussels, and the exigencies of stock, etc., may determine whether the mussel farmer should transfer the mussels down from o k to another. The higher banks are utilised for t

plus stock. There the growth is slow, and the mussels, that they may become large and fit for sale within a reasonable period, have to be transported and resown on the lower and better growing ground.

Much remains to be done in Scotland before mussel culture can yield a sufficient supply of bait for the line fishermen. The area of possible mussel ground in our various firths and lochs is very large, but it is not utilised, nor is culture attempted, at places other than Montrose and the Eden, and to some extent at Inverness and Tain, where the operations are chiefly in the initiatory stages. If we consider the Clyde as a mussel area, there are about two square miles of muddy banks between Port-Glasgow and Greenock on the south side, and Cardross and Ardmore on the east side, where a very large supply of mussels could be reared. At present large quantities of mussels are lifted from this area, but no attempt is made to conserve the supply, and the banks therefore yield only a fraction of what might be obtained from them by the application of systematic and proved methods of culture. While the Clyde and its branching lochs—Gareloch, Holy Loch, Loch Long, Loch Striven and Loch Ridden, offer a fine field for the initiation of mussel culture on a large scale, there are other areas almost equally important, and from which large revenues might be derived. The Firths of Forth and Tay are the two chief southern areas on the East coast of Scotland that offer inducements for the extension of the bed-system of mussel culture. Further north the Firths of Inverness, Cromarty and Dornoch, could contribute a large quota to the mussel supply of Scotland. Most of our western lochs, too, furnish suitable areas for mussel farming.

Undoubtedly, in mussel culture, local knowledge as to methods is sadly lacking, and indiscriminate attempts without the possession of this knowledge will be likely to bring the inaugurators of the enterprise a good deal more 'experience' than success. The inauguration of mussel culture at any centre can only be successfully accomplished after an expenditure of money in cleaning and stocking the depleted grounds; but if advantage is taken of the natural supply, and regard is had to the essentials of successful culture, and to the character of the ground and of the water, much

money will be saved. One error which has already, or will cost a Scottish corporation much to remedy it, is that of selling off the stock without re-stocking the mussel ground with seedling mussels. It cannot be too much insisted on that if mussel cultivators wish for eggs they must not kill the proverbial goose. This system of over-fishing was the origin of the gradual decline of the Forth oyster beds, and in recent times more than one mussel farmer has had to expend large sums in order to bring back mussel beds to revenue-producing areas. Practically, so far as Scotland is concerned, mussel farming will be a new national industry which will give employment to a large number of our fishing population.

The object which in Scotland we should aim at, is to produce annually 80,000 to 100,000 tons of mussels at a cheap rate. This quantity will suffice for the wants of the line fishermen, and the surplus will form a valuable addition to our food supply. I have gone into the figures elsewhere, but it may be noted that about 2,400 acres of fair mussel ground will be necessary to rear this quantity within four years after the seedling mussels can be transferred to the growing beds. This extent of ground will furnish not only collecting ground for the settling of the free swimming pelagic mussels, but also ground for the various sizes of mussels and for the transference of mussels from one bed to another as farming operations may dictate. It may even be necessary to demand a greater extent of ground, especially in localities where the mussels gather great quantities of mud. In some places the mud is accumulated so quickly by the growing mussels that the banks in, say, a year, become perceptibly higher, and so less fitted for the rearing and fattening of the mussels. When this is so, the ground has to lie fallow till the banks are 'scoured' by the tide and streams, and the surplus mud carried off to sea. It is only in this way that the suitability of the bank as a mussel growing area can be maintained. For this purpose —lessening the height of the banks—special instruments may be devised that will greatly help the ordinary agents of marine denudation. A small stern-paddle-wheel launch would perform more work in one tide, when the neighbouring river is
than the combined operation of stream and tide dur

months. But this is one of the many matters of detail that must be faced when the system of mussel culture is inaugurated on a large scale, so that the nation may derive the largest possible revenue from the banks.

The scallop, which is next in importance to the mussel from a bait point of view, does not so easily lend itself to culture, but three years ago I succeeded in artificially fertilizing the eggs of this mollusc and rearing the young in confinement till they were protected by shells. It has taken the place of the more valuable oyster on the celebrated beds in the Forth, and the fishermen of Cockenzie and neighbouring villages have in the past obtained a plentiful supply of bait from the clam (or scallop) beds opposite the village. Last summer, Mr. Anderson Smith, a member of the Fishery Board for Scotland, deposited some thousands of them in the Moray Frith with a view of forming a clam bed there for the fishermen of the neighbouring shore, and it will be interesting to watch the result of this experiment of transplanting. The bed in the Forth has gone on extending till it now reaches from Inch Mickry to opposite Gullane Point, and if care is taken and wise regulations observed there is no reason why the area of the bed should not continue to go on increasing, as it has been doing during the last decade.

The nation is now, thanks to the bait famine, becoming aroused to the value of our different shellfish, and the subject of mussel culture has been considerably advanced by the labours of the Bait Committee, presided over by the Right Hon. E. Marjoribanks, M.P. Still much remains to be done, and the theoretical knowledge which has been obtained requires to be applied before any appreciable increase of revenue is obtained. Mussel culture has been tried in Scotland, and its success has been proved, but any mussel culture worthy of the name does not deserve support unless it can be attained on sound economical grounds—unless in fact mussels can be reared at a reasonable price, after the revenue from the cultivated product has met all the expenditure of management.

While mussel culture has been proved a success, a like result in reference to oyster culture has only been attained to a limited extent. Oysters are cultivated on a small scale at West Loch

Tarbert in Argyleshire, and in Loch Ryan, but the success which we must look for in this direction is still in the future. We can only hope for successful oyster culture in Scotland after the fact is recognised that there are two distinct departments in oyster culture, viz., production of spat and fattening, and that attention should be confined to the second. While our seas are within the area of geographical destruction of the oyster, our waters are too cold for the production of the millions of young oysters which might be fed in our western lochs. The man who will start the importation on a large scale of young oysters to our waters for growth and fattening will be a public benefactor, and the promise of success merits an extended trial. Oh for a M. Coste to advocate and a Napoleon to support oyster culture in Scotland!

J. H. FULLARTON.

ART. VIII.—BARBOUR AND BLIND HARRY AS LITERATURE.

THE misguided man who goes so far astray as to compose a historical poem, that is, a poem professing to be a substitute for history, generally 'wirkis sorrow to himsel',' as Dunbar says, or at least to his own memory. To begin with, his hearers or readers may be pleased with this vivid and interesting form of bringing before them their heroes, who are perhaps their own immediate ancestors, and any little deviation from the plain facts does not at all interfere with this pleasure, if it is even noticed. The further back in time the scene is laid the more licence will the poet be allowed, and his audience will not permit want of historic accuracy to detract from their appreciation of the work as a literary product. But now comes your historian, the man who prizes a charter more than the best couplet, and an act of parliament more than a whole canto, and from these tenants of chests and record-rooms laboriously pieces together the history of a period. The afore-mentioned poet gives perhaps the only connected narrative of the ev

of the time, and now armed with these charters, etc., and 'the spirit of criticism, which lands you in all manner of infidelity,' the critic proceeds to disillusionise the formerly admiring public. Not a page of the poet can be turned to which does not show some woful error of date, place or person, and the exact historian waxes wroth and denounces this most inexact man of letters. So far all were pretty well; the poet was not a raker of charter-chests, nor an editor of Privy Council records, and both his information and his way of using it were not always very exact, but then he had other and perhaps greater ends in view. All this *historical* criticism has, we conceive, nothing to do with *literary* merit, yet just as new discoveries in the physical world prove to some moralists a mare's nest and to others a fox in the farmyard, so do the literary critics get scared by the fierce blasts of the historian, and as if afraid of being caught resetting such dubious goods, they too hold the poet's work at arm's length, and say nothing in its praise which is not carefully recanted in the next sentence. Thus it comes that the geniuses of both history and literature pass by on the other side, and the public, which takes its cue from the great ones, is afraid to protest against the sentence.

This is a view which has found many victims within no long time back, and will probably go on for some time yet, but it seems strange that the two sides of the question should thus get rolled into one and judged together, and judged by the party least likely to do justice to the more prominent side. The tendency is so strong that the mass are easily carried away with it; they are of the kind for whom a text-book of geology can destroy all the poetry of the first chapter of Genesis. Yet to us the method seems mistaken, even from a historical point of view. Not only do Herodotus and Thucydides remain masters of prose literature in spite of Professor Sayce or Müller-Strübing, but every line of them still has its historic value, for it proves, if not what was done, at least what was believed and asserted, and this has often as great influence on the world as the actual fact. To speak, however, from the literary side only, not all the Egyptology of Europe will ever diminish the charm of the 2nd Book of Herodotus, nor all the

discoveries of Greek archæology make the faintest difference to Homer. The two things stand utterly apart, and the historian must not be allowed to browbeat the imaginative poet any more than the evolutionist in the physical world to shout down the idealist in morals.

All this method is, we think, capable of excellent illustration in the case of the two poets whose names stand at the head of this article. Both of these have left an enduring memory in two long poems,* dealing with historic subjects of closely connected nature, for the one begins where the other ends, and each has for his hero a deliverer of his native land, and each has made his hero's name immortal to his countrymen. During all last century, despite the various editions of Barbour, it was Blind Harry who was the favourite, and even if we admit that this was because he could be read in the modernized version by Hamilton of Gilbertfield, yet there must be some merit in a poem which could go through this process and yet live. The work it did during two generations in fostering Scottish patriotism and developing Scottish character is well known from the testimony of Burns. Barbour, on the other hand, was scarcely known, and this cannot have come altogether from the difference in language, but must have been also due to the difference in the good Archdeacon's idea of a national poem. With the critical study of Scottish history begins the above-mentioned confusion between the merits of a poem and the truth of its historical basis, and straightway Barbour begins to supplant Blind Harry in the favour of the critics. As no one will venture to quote the latter as an authority for anything, so writers on literature, whether English literature in general or Scottish in particular, dispose of their best epithets on Barbour, and apologetically give their remaining ones to Blind Harry, if indeed they do not leave him only the disparaging ones. So we are told that the Brus 'is imbued

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* Of much the same length, for Blind Harry's longer verse would make his something under 12,000 lines more than equal to [illegible] 13,500. The texts used in this article are Professor Skeat's [illegible] lished for the Early English Text Society, and Mr. Moir's the Scottish Text Society.

with a spirit of genuine poetry,' while Blind Harry, after being branded as only 'the oracle of the unlettered crowd,' or 'the rude embodiment of a popular feeling,' is charged with 'barbarous taste,' 'ludicrous prejudice,' or 'fierce vulgarity,'* and we take leave of him with the critic's assurance that 'the literary merit of the work is, in general, insufficient to constitute it a great poem,' or that 'it posseses no poetical merit except a certain rude fire and energy, and as a literary production its place must be reckoned a very humble one.' (This last is from the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, which however makes the common mistake of speaking as if Hamilton's version was meant—'it has enjoyed a long popularity among the Scottish peasantry'). Yet even Saul sometimes forgets himself and lands among the prophets, and speaks contrary to the doctrine he has learned. Ross, for instance, discovers that, after all, 'it is throughout a graphic and picturesque poem, and in particular passages it even reaches an exquisite beauty,' (O subtle power of 'barbarous taste' combined with 'vulgarity'!) What, however, could we say to this of Ellis (in *Specimens of Early English Poets*), who after making allowance for the poet's blindness, goes on to assert that 'it may be assumed that Henry was not inferior in point of genius either to Barbour or Chaucer' (a strange pair) 'nor indeed to any poet of any age or country!' Brave words these, and enough to make us fear 'Danaos et dona ferentes,' a suspicion only too truly verified when we discover that nevertheless the vulgar minstrel has given us 'little more than a disgusting picture of revenge, hatred, and blood,'—surely a woful misapplication of such exalted talent.—These are not unfair specimens of Blind Harry's critics, and the less outspoken of them take care to say little of his literary merit as a whole; the careful, if somewhat long-winded Irving, for instance, takes refuge finally in a commendation of the smoothness of his verse.

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* These phrases come from Ross (*Early Scottish History and Literature*) as also some of the quotations immediately following. It may be noted that Ross first discusses at great length the historical value of Blind Harry, before estimating his literary worth, and so is an excellent example of our thesis.

Meanwhile John Barbour basks in all the favours of criticism, or rather of commendation, and his greatest mistakes, or perversions of history, are minimised in proportion as Blind Harry's are magnified, while his style finds many an encomiast. 'There is none of the customary symptoms of romancing mendacity in his work,' 'a modest simplicity in describing the most thrilling incidents,' 'no crude fervour, no credulous wonderment' (all this is pointed at somebody), and so the 'earnest gravity' of the Archdeacon reckons for far more than the 'rude fire and energy' of the wandering minstrel,—fact *must* be more poetic than fiction. For us, however, it is comforting to observe the nature of the praise which thus exalts the author of the *Brus*. 'Simplicity,' says one, 'may be said to be the main feature in the plan and conduct of his poems,' and we willingly admit it. 'Even the stirring day of Bannockburn,' says another, the same who discovered the Archdeacon's 'earnest gravity,' 'hardly quickens the poet's blood, or disturbs the even flow of his verse;' true, right true, but we fail to see any merit in the fact. Then as to Barbour's mistakes in history, such as the notorious one of confounding Bruce with his grandfather, this is only because the grave ecclesiastic 'deliberately deviates from historic fact to enhance the glory of that national freedom,' which of course Blind Harry was too vulgar to appreciate, and besides, was so ignorant that he could not 'deliberately' deviate from historic fact, but was only mistaken, a fatal sin. Barbour, 'in short, takes a poetic licence in a somewhat *hurried* introduction,' of which this mistake is line 477! We presume that his other 'deviations' are also poetic licences, but the post-dating by 10 years of the Act of Settlement can hardly be excused by the hurried introduction, for it occurs somewhere about line 13000. Yet Blind Harry, living at a period removed from that of his hero by a century and a half, gets no credit for a poetic licence which John Barbour enjoys less than 50 years after his hero's death. This, however, is the historian's matter, not ours; we only protest against this being made a part of Barbour's literary merit and yet reckoned as a fault in the minstrel.

Our purpose then, in this article, is to compare the two

authors on literary grounds alone, without regard to historical considerations, except so far as they influence the aim and procedure of each,—how far one or other is mistaken does not really concern us,—and we must decline to say how far either of them has 'deliberately' altered fact for purposes of effect: in our opinion neither of them did so. Barbour was perhaps wise enough to pass gently over Bruce's previous connection with England: Blind Harry may have made his hero a mere youth at the outset to emphasize a life-long patriotism, but where all this is so uncertain we can hardly make it a part of literary criticism. The only legitimate way is to compare the two poems in point of general plan and style, note their different treatment of the many similar incidents that occur throughout, their respective accounts of their hero's character (remembering in this case the different conditions under which the two works were composed), and adding to these all the innumerable little touches which distinguish the poet from the chronicler in verse, endeavour to decide which of the two authors stands highest as literature.

Barbour, as we learn from contemporary documents, was a busy ecclesiastic, well-educated and well-travelled, entrusted with important matters of Church and State, and, for this reason, encouraged and patronised by royalty. That the *Brus* was written in accordance with royal wish or command is extremely probable; at any rate we may say, almost with certainty, that he was rewarded for it. His other two works, the *Brut*, and 'the propyr genealogy' of the Stewarts (to which Blind Harry refers in 1, 34: 'Go reid the rycht lyne of the fyrst Stewart,') in which he traced that family from 'Dardane, lord de Frygya,' down to Robert II., both of which are vouched for by Wyntoun, were also closely connected with the history of the royal family. From this circumstance one might justly infer that the scholarly churchman, who was indebted to the English King for various safe-conducts, and as a member of the universal Church could hardly be exclusively Scottish, was not impelled to compose the *Brus* from any burning feeling of patriotism alone, but also from other motives, honourable enough in themselves, but not likely to make a

poet out of the scholar. This, we are convinced, was Blind Harry's view, for his words towards the end of his *Wallace* are unmistakably pointed at the *Brus* :—

> 'I suld have thank, sen I nocht travaill spard ;
> For my laubour na man hecht me rewaird.
> Na charge I had off king nor other lord ;
> Gret harm I thocht his gud deid suld be smord.
> I haiff said her ner as the process gais,
> And fenyeid nocht for frendschip nor for fais.
> Costis her for was no man bond to me,
> In this sentence I had no will to be.' (11, 1433 ff.)

Certainly on *a priori* grounds we should expect that such a spirit as this would produce a far finer national poem than a calm and cultured mind like Barbour's. The latter's other works, did they now exist, would probably exhibit the same somewhat misplaced learning and even flow of verse which mark the *Brus:* according to Wyntoun, the Genealogy was 'in metyre fayre,' and proceeded 'be gud contynuatyown In successyve generatyown' (8, 1445), and the very choice of subjects does not argue a mind primarily poetic, while the political bearing of the pieces is shown by his invention of a new Stewart line of descent, complained of by Bower.

As to the purpose of the poem, Prof. Cosmo Innes says it is designed as a glorification of freedom. Barbour himself has another view of it: for him it is a 'Romance' to show how men came out of great trouble and adversity to high estate, and ended their life in dignity and honour. The two heroes he especially names are Bruce himself and Douglas, and these certainly occupy the larger part of the poem, but not by any means exclusively. After the poet gets really started (at 1, 477), he goes on keeping fairly close to his subject, except for many digressions about ancient tales and abstract qualities, sometimes for 100 lines at a time, until he reaches the Battle of Bannockburn, which occupies nearly 2,000 lines of Books 11 to 13. A true poet, whose main idea was to show the triumph of freedom, would certainly have made this the real end of the poem, but Barbour now begins a second section altogether, the hero of which is Sir Edward Bruce (Books 14 to 18.) In these five books the King and Douglas figure very

little (about 400 lines each), Sir Edward and the siege of Berwick have about 1000 lines each, and the rest is filled up with minor incidents. In all this there is scarcely anything that rises above the level of a mere chronicle, and not a very interesting one at that; the often-quoted passage about Bruce and the laundress (16, 270-292) has no special literary merit, and the only striking lines are those describing the May scene when the King sets out for Ireland (16, 63-71). The third part, covering the later years of Bruce and Douglas, is also singularly uninteresting, and the only part usually quoted is Douglas's tale of the 'Fox and the Fisher,' which is a good little fable but not brilliantly told. Then the whole ends abruptly with the poisoning of Murray. Surely if Barbour had meant his work to be a glorification of freedom, he would have stopped before having to record that Bruce paid £20,000 to the English King to be left in peace.

With this very disconnected work, some parts of which at least are nothing but a chronicle, contrast Blind Harry's poem. His prologue is only of 16 lines, and gives at once the tone of the whole work. From 1, 41 to 1, 180 there is a historical introduction, giving quite as much information as Barbour does, and, even in this, lines 144 to 158 are concerned with Wallace. From this point right on to the end the minstrel never loses sight of his central figure for more than a very few lines at a time; whenever he has outside remarks to make he does it with certainly the briefest manner possible, yet in such well-chosen words, the that they give far clearer impressions than Barbour does with which digressions. If a poem ought to be a whole, then the [illegible] of the far outdoes the Archdeacon in this respect, although the [illegible]dane, has the great advantage of the two parallel stories of [illegible] are and Douglas, one of which can relieve the other. [illegible]ith

The spirit in which the two approach their subject may also be seen in their respective introductions. Barbour opens with scholastic remarks on the pleasures of reading and a frigid distinction between truth and fiction: he does not see why true tales should not be as interesting reading as fictitious ones, and therefore he will write one, and hopes he may be able to do it so 'that I say nocht bot suthfast thing.' Yet, ac-

cording to his eulogist, Prof. Innes, 'he did not trouble himself about accuracy in detail.' Blind Harry, on the other hand, plunges at once into the intensely national tone which characterises his whole work. We neglect the noble deeds of our ancestors 'throw very sleuthfulness.'

> 'Our ald ennemys, cummyn of Saxonis blud,
> That nevyr yeit to Scotland wald do gud;
> Bot evir on fors and contrair haile thair will,
> Quhow gret kyndnes thar has beyne kyth thaim till.
> It is weyle knawyne on mony divers syde
> How thai haff wrocht into thair mychty pryde,
> To hald Scotlande at undyr evirmair.' (1, 7-13).

Reading this in the light of Scottish history, we fail to see in it anything but a strong and true expression of patriotic feeling, certainly not a 'ludicrous prejudice:' read Barbour himself (1, 179 to 224) and see whether his or Harry's tone is most likely to be that of Scottish feeling in general. As a point of literary merit compare also the ending of the two works; first Barbour's:—

> 'The lordis deit apon this wiss;
> He, that hye Lorde of al thing is,
> Vp till his mekill bliss thame bryng
> And grant his grace, that thar ofspryng
> Lede weill the land, and ententif
> Be to folow in all thair lif
> Thair nobill elderis gret bounté.' (20, 611-617).*

and then Blind Harry's:—

> 'Go, nobill buk, fulfillyt off gud sentens,
> Suppos thow be barán of eloquens.
> Go, worthi buk, fulfillit off suthfast deid;
> Bot in langage off help thow has gret neid.
> Quhen gud makaris rang weill into Scotland,
> Gret harm was it that nane of thaim thee fand.
> Yet thar is part that can thee weill avance;
> Now byd thi tym and be a remembrance.' (11, 1451-58).

The feeling of imperfection with which the old man leaves the work of his lifetime to future generations is surely something

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* The closing three lines are merely a prayer, as also in Blind Harry.

far finer than Barbour's somewhat conventional desire for the good behaviour of his heroes' descendants.

In one respect Barbour perhaps keeps up the impersonal character of the epic better than Blind Harry, in that he rarely names the authorities for his statements, though he not unfrequently speaks in the first person. In Bk. 7 he gives two accounts of how Bruce escaped from the hound (v. line 75); at 9, 572 he names Sir Allan of Cathcart as the authority for the story about Sir Edward defeating the English with 50 against 1,500, but in general he makes no mention of where he got his information. Blind Harry, on the other hand, all through, appeals to the authority of his 'autor,' John Blair, though his relation to this original is an insoluble enigma.* The frequent recurrence of this does perhaps take away a little from the flow of the poem; it always brings us back, as it were, from the verse of the minstrel to the Latin prose of the priest, and suggests thoughts of historic truth where they ought not to come in at all.

The immense difference between the two poets is, however, best seen in their use of language. Even making all allowance for the fact that Blind Harry has a better form of verse to work with than Barbour, whose octosyllabic line is much more apt to lead to padding and consequent weakness, yet the way in which the former can, in a word or two, get at the heart of his matter and bring it vividly before us, shows a power in the use of words which the latter does not possess. Over against the condensed and vigorous phrases of the minstrel we have the archdeacon's extreme diffuseness,† which manifests itself not only in his numberless digressions but also in his round-about way of describing incidents, in repetitions of

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* That this work did exist we do not doubt for a moment, and if it could possibly be recovered the manifold confusions in the poem might be explained more simply than they can with our present imperfect knowledge of the period. A man who could say 'I haiff had blayme to say the suthfastnes' (7, 917) was not likely to be utterly reckless in his use of his authority.

† Compare the rapid and clear sketch of Scottish history from Alexander III.'s death in Wallace, 8, 1327-74, with Bk. I. of the Brus.

similar phrases as many as three times within a very few lines, and yet after all often leaving the matter very obscure in spite of all his pains to make it clear. A few examples will illustrate this fault :—

> ' Fortoun has traualit us this day,
> *a* That scalit us so suddandly.
> *b* Our fayis this nycht sall trastly ly;
> *a* For thai trow we so scalit ar,
> And fled to-waverand her and thar
> That we sall nocht thir dayis thre
> All to-giddir assemblit be.
> *b* Tharfor this nycht thai sall trastly
> But vachis tak thair eis and ly. (7, 298-306.)

> *a* ' And with swerdis that scharply schare
> *b* Thai servit thame full egyrly.
> *c* Thai war slayn doune so halely
> That thar neir weill eschapit nane.
> *b* Thai servit thame in full gret wayne (plenty)
> *a* With scherand swerdis and with knyvis,
> *c* That weill neir all lesyt thar livis.' (16, 450-456.)

and many more instances might be given (*e.g.*, 20, 162, 208). For obscurity his masterpiece is probably the account of the claims of Balliol and Bruce, extending to 20 lines, in which ' sum,' ' othir sum,' ' thai said,' ' thar,' ' thai said,' ' than,' are mixed up in desperate confusion. * Blind Harry explains the whole matter in six lines (1, 45-50). To such faults of style may also be reckoned his frequent weak phrases, such as ' I underta,' ' I trow,' ' I trow he sall,' or needless padding as in—

> ' For to hunt him out of the land
> With hund and horn, richt as he were
> A wolf, a theif, *or thefis fere.*' (6, 647.)

> ' He wist him behufit ma
> Of all this life the commoune end
> *That is the ded quhen God will send.*' (20, 154.)

Blind Harry is too straightforward to waste time with such circumlocutions, and, on the other hand, vivid phrases which

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* So Skeat says in note on 1, 455 : ' Barbour's use of the word "thai" is perfectly reckless.' As regards repetition of the same idea, Blind Harry's worst specimen is perhaps 4, 293 ff. but this is quite exceptional.

give a whole picture in a line are comparatively rare in Barbour, but abound in the *Wallace*. From the *Brus* may be instanced:—

> 'That, *as ane hyrcheoune*, all his rout
> Gert set out speris all about.' (12, 353).
>
> 'Thai
> War tynt emang so gret menyé
> *As thai war plungit in the se.*' (12, 567.)
>
> 'And blaw our hornis, and mak fair
> *As all the warld our awne it war.*' (19, 703),

but in Blind Harry may be found many such lines as—

> 'The worde of him walkit baith far and nere.' (3, 252),
> 'That land is strait and maisterfull to wyn.' (4, 159),
> 'Sad men of arms that war off egyr will.' (4, 603),
> 'The folk was fey that he before him fand.' (4, 616),
> 'Thai mycht be bath a wand Agayne Sotheroun.' (5, 996),

and the frequent occurrence of such pregnant lines gives his whole style a conciseness that raises it far above the diffuseness of Barbour.

Both Barbour and Harry attempt at times a certain grim humour, always in reference to fighting, as if to relieve the monotony of earnest battles. It is doubtful if the one is any better than the other in this respect; Barbour is perhaps the sprightlier of the two, and has a tendency to compare fighting with eating (see 14, 187 and 16,457); the minstrel is more in earnest, and his humour is of a slightly sterner cast. But had the Archdeacon anticipated Sydney Smith's assertion when he thought it necessary to explain Douglas's retort to the Spanish knight: 'I praise God I had always hands to defend my face'? 'Quha wald tak tent to this answer,' he says, 'Suld se in it understandyng' (20, 380), and then paraphrases the perfectly plain words of Douglas in their application to his interrogator.

We now come to consider more closely Barbour's many digressions from the course of the story, partly to tell parallel cases from ancient history and legend, and partly to discourse on various topics of more or less abstract interest. To the former Blind Harry offers no parallel; he has no time to tell any story but that of his hero. Barbour, on the other hand,

is ready on every possible occasion with a classic legend, more rarely a Biblical one, whether it be about the Machabees (1, 465-476), the siege of Troy, Alexander, Cæsar, and Arthur (1, 521-560), the siege of Thebes (2, 528-547), Gaudifer (3, 72-92), Hannibal (3, 207-248), Earl Ferrand (4, 223-306), or Tydeus, or Tyre, or Fabricius; sometimes he makes Bruce himself the teller of the story. Or, again, he discourses on treason, love, despair, parting, weeping for joy, 'worschip,' falsehood, hardiment, etc., which Blind Harry also does at times, but far more briefly and to the point, and whereas we may say boldly that not a single one of Barbour's digressions (the one on 'freedom' will be noticed afterwards) is possessed of any literary merit whatever, the passages where Blind Harry lingers over Wallace's straits in prison (2, 171 ff.), or the story of his love (6, 1-104), are among the noblest specimens of old Scottish literature, and the author himself has so designed them by the change in the form of his verse. If some of his other discourses (*e.g.*, that on 'cowatice' in 11, 833-848) are not very brilliant, yet they have the merit of being few and short, and he knows on occasion how to say a thing in a single couplet, as

> 'Is nayne in warld, at scaithis ma do mar
> Than weile trastyt in borne familiar.' (1, 111),

or a single line, as

> 'Gold may be gayn, bot worschip is ay new.' (7, 886.)

We have referred more than once to this desire of the minstrel to get on with his tale; expressions almost of impatience meet us every now and then, especially when he gets involved in some incident which has no special significance. Then it comes: 'Quhat suld I spek of frustir?' (1, 313), 'On to my taile I left' (1, 327), 'On my mater now brieffly will I wend' (5, 406); or, after five lines about Hector, 'Ectour I leiff, and spek furth off our men' (8, 484), but the most noticeable of all is perhaps when, after 76 lines, containing a remark on Thomas of Longueville, a conversation between Robert and Edward Bruce, the death of Comyn, first rising of Douglas, Bruce's early adventures, a comparison of Wallace and Bruce

and praise of Douglas, the minstrel fears he is getting tiresome—

> 'In this mater prolixt I am almaist
> To my purpos breiffly I will me haist.' (11, 1215.)

This is a feeling which Barbour never seems to have had, and we feel pretty sure that a fitting subject would have made a veritable John Gower of him. As an instance of one of Barbour's more interesting episodes may be mentioned the fable of the fox and the fisherman, told by Douglas to the Earl of Murray (19, 649), which is not seldom quoted as a good example of his story-telling, as it certainly is; but the very circumstantial way in which it is told, and the minute application of the details, contrasts very strongly with the bolder strokes in which Blind Harry narrates how Stewart applied the fable of the owl to Wallace before the Battle of Falkirk (10, 130), where the story has the additional interest of its fatal consequences for Scotland, as indicated in 'Unhappyly his taill thus he began.'

This 'prolixitness' in Barbour is not at all diminished by the great similarity between some of the incidents, especially in the adventures of Bruce, as noticed by Skeat in his note on 5, 521. There are the two Macindrossers, with a confederate, who attacked him on horseback (3, 73), a one-eyed man and his two sons who attacked him and his page (5, 485), five of John of Lorn's men who assail him and his foster-brother (6, 595), followed immediately by three traitors who manage to kill the foster-brother (7, 79), and three who attack him alone and are killed with the assistance of a dog (7, 400). All these are told at considerable length, and the sleuth-hound adventure, for example, occupies nearly 300 lines. The similar incidents which of course occur in Blind Harry are more diversified than these, (of accounts of battles we need not speak, for these are common to both and cannot well be differentiated), and are not repeated so often: his commonest is perhaps the account of a good defence in a wood, or market-fights between Wallace and the 'Sotheroun.' For a very similar incident in both see the taking of Linlithgow throw William Bunnock (*Br.*, 10, 150-250), and that of 'the Sawchar'

through Tom Dickson (*Wall.*, 9, 1589-1655), where Blind Harry's narrative is certainly not inferior to Barbour's. Compare also Barbour's account of the death of Comyn and his reflection thereon with Blind Harry's: Barbour says, from an ecclesiastical point of view—

> 'He mysdyd thar gretly, but wer,
> That gave na gyrth to the Awter,
> Tharfor sa hard myscheiff him fell,
> That Ik herd neuir in Romanys tell
> Off man sa hard sted as wes he
> That eftirward com to sic bounte.' (2, 43-48).

Blind Harry looks at it more from a political standpoint—

> 'That hapnys wrang, our gret haist in a king;
> Till wyrk by* law it may scaith mekill thing.' (11, 1187-8).

We now come to the part of our thesis which it is impossible for us to prove here, as it could only be done by very extensive quotations: we can only indicate some of the passages on which our conclusions are based: those which to our mind place Blind Harry's literary merit on a much higher level than Barbour's. What for instance are the ordinary quotations given as a specimen of Barbour's literary power?—one or two of the battle-scenes perhaps, one or other of his few descriptions of scenery, and besides these the story of the Fox and Fisher already alluded to, that of King Robert and the Laundress (which is a fine touch of character, but not of literature) and above all, the 'far-famed encomium on political freedom,' which is said to be 'distinguished by a manly and dignified strain of sentiment.' Let us look a little into this freedom, and into the usual way of quoting it. Every one knows the first line: 'A! freedom is a noble thing,' and then the ordinary extract goes on for another 15 lines to 'And suld think fredome mar to prys than all the gold in warld that is,' or perhaps another 6 lines that add nothing in particular. But at this point Barbour is only beginning his subject, and now he goes on for another 34 lines with a vile scholastic dilemma whether a man ought first to satisfy his wife's or his master's demands

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* *By*, of course, means *past*, *regardless of*, and not *by*, which is always *be* in Old Scottish. The Editor of the Sc. T. S. Ed. has not noticed this.

and points out what a fearful thing thraldom must be when it can be compared to marriage, which is 'the hardest band that ony man may tak on hand; and thryldome is weill wer than deid.' Nor is the first line perhaps so fine as it appears (not to speak of its great obviousness) for in 6, 325, we find very similar words—

> 'A! quhat worschip is prisit thing
> For it makis men to haf loving
> Gif it be followit ythandly.'

which worschip turns out to be Aristotle's 'Andreia,' being defined (in 34 lines) as the mean between fool-hardiness and cowardice. Taking everything into account, we do not know if the praise of freedom stands on a higher literary level than Wyntoun's praise of Britain, beginning 'Blessyd Britain beild suld be of all the ilis in the se,' which no one has ever called him a poet for.

Of really fine passages in the *Brus*, besides those mentioned afterwards, we may point to his occasional descriptions of the splendidly arrayed hosts of England (8, 216-232* or 11, 126, 185, 460), the beginning of the fire at Kildrummy (4, 125), the picture of Edward's grasping ambition (1, 91-118, beginning 'A! blynd folk full of all folly,'), the voyage to Rathlin (3, 693), and perhaps one or two of the more spirited battle scenes. But over against these can be set the many passages where Blind Harry rises to his highest poetic level, whether in tender feeling or in vivid delineation of stirring incidents. Some of these (as Wallace in prison, or the story of his love) have already been noticed, but there are many more, and it must especially be noticed how often by a single line a more human interest is given to the object or incident he is speaking of (*e.g.* the 'rousty swerd' which Wallace found, of which he says, 'Ane agyt man it left quhen he was dede,' (2, 375). Others that may be instanced are Fawdoun's ghost (5, 175),

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* The last lines here are curious though :—

> 'And hawbrekis that war *quhit as flour*,
> Maid thame glitterand, as thai war lik
> *Till angellis he of hevinis rik.*'

the pursuit of Wallace after slaying the Butler (5,277, where the minstrel's verse becomes as hurried and rapid as the chase itself, and yet admits of such local touches as 'and left him there beside the stannand stanes'), his subsequent slumber in the thicket (5, 357), the part of his love affair in 5, 579-717, the ghastly realism of the burning of the Barns (6, 438), Wallace's dream (7, 71), the splendid meeting of Wallace and the Queen of England (8, 1181), 'the gret debait in Wallace wit' (10, 217), and many other passages which the reader will discover for himself, to which Barbour offers no parallel. In the actual battle-scenes, or where the hero of each displays his own prowess, Barbour, even if at times not lacking spirit, is far less Homeric than Blind Harry, whose minuteness in the anatomy of wounds fully equals that of the Iliad. Whether such minuteness is pleasing to us or not is not the question at issue: we are convinced that a true soldier of that time would be much more interested to hear of a stroke 'aboune the kne' which 'through thé (thigh) and brawn in sondyr straik the bayne,' than in Barbour's indefinite 'he smat the fyrst . . . with his spere that sa scharply schare.' If it is part of the poet's task to tell of, and part of his hearer's interest to hear of such scenes, surely the more closely and clearly each is described the better the poet is. Barbour's battles are for the most part described in mere general phrases, as if by one who looks on from a distance, Blind Harry's are as of one who is in the heart of the fight itself. So much of both poems is taken up by the fighting element that a superiority in this line goes a long way to make the one better than the other, and we have no hesitation in saying that that one is the *Wallace*. For this reason we refuse to accept the definition of the poem as 'a disgusting picture of revenge, hatred and blood;' so is the Iliad if it comes to that, and the Barns of Ayr and some other horrid but true scenes of international warfare in the *Wallace* are not unparalleled in the *Brus*; witness that disgusting mess facetiously called the Douglas larder, or the long-remembered Hership of Buchan. Surely the realism of these scenes is not to be made any ground for denying the genius of the poet whose description

of them makes our softer natures shudder at them; that the *Wallace* contains only such scenes is a gross misrepresentation, and no more true of it than of the *Brus*.

Hitherto we have merely alluded to the descriptions of scenery in the *Brus*, to those of Spring and of May there mentioned may be added a very short one of Autumn in 10, 185. The first of these is the longest, and may be given here:

> 'This wes in were, quhen wyntir tyde
> With his blastis, hydwis to byde,
> Wes ourdriffin: and byrdis smale
> As thristill and the nychtingale
> Begouth rycht meraly to syng,
> And for to mak in thair singing
> Syndry notis and soundis sere,
> And melody plesande to here.
> And the treis begouth to ma
> Burgeonys and brycht blomys alsua,
> To wyn the heling of thar hevede
> That wikkit wyntir had thame revede:
> And all grewis begouth to spryng.'

Line 6 is rather weak, and the idea is put more musically in 16,64 ('Quhen byrdis syngis on the spray, Melland thair notis with syndry soune, For softnes of that sweit sesoune'), but it seems peculiarly inappropriate that Barbour should insert this account of spring just when it was almost *getting dark* ('a litill forrow the evyn.') Blind Harry is not wanting either in such passages (see the opening lines of Books 3, 6 and 9*) but he has a much more subtle way of dealing with nature than this, which afterwards developes into the catalogue style of such pieces as Gawin Douglas's otherwise excellent prologues. His secret consists in a close connection between the action of the poem and the nature of the season when the event takes place, and herein he shows in most unexpected ways his real depth of feeling and wonderful sympathy with nature. Instances of this abound throughout:—

> 'Thys pees was cryede in August moneth myld' (3, 341.)
>
> 'In Atryk forrest has my wonnyng beyne;
> Thar I was born amang the schawis scheyne.' (4, 369.)

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* His astronomical lore is however rather strange at times, if it is not rather due to the scribe than to himself.

'The dyrk regioun apperand wondyr fast
In November, quhen October was past.
The day faillit, throu the rycht cours worthit schort,
Till banyst men that is no gret comfort,
With thair power in pethis worthis gang ;
Hevy thai think quhen at the nycht is lang.' (5, 1,)

'Sternys be than began for to apper ;
The Inglismen was cummand wondyr ner.' (5, 125.)

'The nycht was myrk : to consaill ar thai gayne :
Off mwne nor stern gret perans was thair mayne.' (5, 1003.)

'In Aperill amang the schawis scheyn
Quhen the paithment was cled in tendyr greyn,
Plesand war it till ony creatur
In lusty lyff that tym for till endur.' (8, 935), etc.

There must also be noticed the ingenious and effective way in which Blind Harry sometimes brings in the contrast between the wandering free life of his hero and the walled strength of the English overlords. Thus after describing the Sheriff's court and the examination of Sir Ranald :—

'Fra this consaill my purposs is to pass,
Off Wallace spek, *in wyldirnes so wyde ;*
The eterne God his governour be and gyde !' (4, 128.)

or Wallace's feeling immediately after learning of the hanging of the barons :—

'we will our purpos tak
Into Laglane, quhilk has my succour beyne,
Adew market, and welcum woddis greyne.' (7, 293.)

A few such lines as these are worth many of mere description, and indicate the real sympathy Blind Harry has with his hero, which indeed is sufficiently manifest in other places, but especially in his reluctance to speak of the execution, which a person of 'barbarous taste' would almost certainly have dwelt on at length. To him even 'litill reherss is our mekill off cair,' he 'will lat slaik of sorrow the ballance,' and goes off to other matters, and so skilfully interweaves the distasteful details with other and more attractive scenes that he fully realises his intention :—

'Off Wallace end to her it is peté :
And I wald nocht put men in gret dolour
Bot lychtly pass atour his fatell hour.'

Be it noted that this 'vulgar' minstrel is so dexterous in carrying out his noble purpose, that, without betraying any appreciable deficiency, he avoids telling even the atrocious sentence passed on Wallace, far less the carrying of it into execution, except a mere hint at the dividing of his body. So, too, as to the death of Wallace's wife, he says 'I can nocht tell you how, Off sic mater I may nocht tary now.' (6, 193.)

This tenderness in the minstrel is also beautifully shown in the sorrow over the dead which finds expression now and then, particularly Wallace's after his wife's murder by Heselrig, and for Sir John Graham, slain at Falkirk. Over against these scenes Barbour has nothing to show: even the death of his great heroes is but coldly described, and the grief for their loss mixed up with the arrangements for their funeral. Take his account of the sorrow for Bruce's death:—

'And fra his folk wist he was ded,
The sorow rais fra sted to sted,
Thair mycht men se men rif thair hare,
And cumly knychtis gret ful sar,
And thair nevis oft samyn driff,
And as wode men thair clathes rif,
Regratand his worthy bounte,
His wit, strynth, and his honeste,
And, our all, the gret Cumpany
That he oft maid thame curtesly.' (20, 253.)

'I hop that nane that is on lif
The lamentacioune suld descrif
That thai folk for thair lord maid.
And quhen thai lang thus sorrowit had,
And he debowalit was clenly.' (id. 281.)

'Quhen his men lang had maid murnyng
Thai debowellit hyme, and syne
Gert seth him, swa that mycht be tane
The flesche all haly fra the bane.'* (20, 569.)

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* This is the end of Douglas, whose 'carioune' was then buried in Spain and 'the banys' taken home. It may be noticed that the story of Douglas throwing Bruce's heart into the battle before him does *not* come from Barbour. The 12 lines found in Hart's edition (after 20, 420), which Skeat says are 'no doubt genuine,' contain three rhymes impossible for Barbour (*battell : tell, to be : de, withouten ho : to.*) and are probably modelled on the story in the 'Buke of the Howlate.'

At the risk of being 'prolixt almaist' we may also refer to Bruce's grief for his foster-brother, which is no doubt exactly what Bruce did, but is not very poetic :—

> 'His fostir-brothir menyt he
> And waryit (*cursed*) all the tothir thre.' (7, 228.)

Contrast these very tame expressions with the minstrel's burning phrases, when Wallace hears of his wife's death :—

> 'The paynfull wo socht till his hart full sone ;
> War nocht for schayme he had socht to the ground
> For bitter baill that in his breyst was bound ; '

and how when he sees his men so much affected 'he fenyeit him for to comfort thaim all' :—

> '"Cess, men," he said, "this is a butlass payne ;
> We can nocht now chewys hyr lyff agayne."
> Wness a word he mycht bryng out for teyne,
> The bailfull teris bryst braithly fra his eyne.' (6, 201, ff.)

We should also like to quote the lament for Sir John the Graham, how when they found him on the battle-field :—

> 'He lychtyt down and hynt him fra thaim aw
> In armys up : behaldand his paill face
> He kyssyt him and cryt full oft, 'Allace ! '

but we must refer the reader to the passage itself (10, 562).

Like the minstrel we must hurry on, and we now propose to deal with the assertion as to 'the fierce vulgarity of Blind Harry, whose Englishmen are generally poltroons or braggarts or felons.' That Harry does hate everything English, we do not dream of denying; but we are prepared to show that his Englishmen by no means belong to the class above described. In the first place, the Archdeacon is generally praised for his unprejudiced spirit towards England. Some reasons for this comparative mildness of tone we have already indicated, but all the same his expressions are by no means so mild as has been sometimes asserted. Phrases like 'sa wykkit and sa cowatous, and swa hawtane and dispitous,' 'sa angry and sa fell,' 'fulfillit of dispit and pride,' 'sa angirly led thame with danger and with aw,' 'the harme and the outrage that Ynglismen has to yow done,' are by no means very flattering, and allowing for Barbour's lack of vigorous language are no milder

than Blind Harry's. His language, too, regarding traitors to the Scottish cause is more forcible even than the minstrel's: for the person who betrayed Setoun his pious wish is, 'In hell condampnyt mot he be!' and the Osbarn who fired Kildrummy is 'A fals lurdane, a losengour.' Just as Barbour's feeling towards England is not to be estimated by his courteous treatment of some of the great English names, neither is Blind Harry's to be altogether gathered from what he makes Wallace do and say in his most violent moods. That a conquering soldiery like Edward's would include a considerable proportion of 'poltroons, braggarts, and felons,' is extremely probable, but be it noted that Wallace and his men rarely perform such marvellous feats as Bruce and his followers. Wallace, says the minstrel, was always ready to engage if the English were no more than five to one, but in Barbour we find such marvellous numbers as 50 against 1500, or even against 10,000, not merely acting on the defence, as in Wallace's case when the odds are too great, but actually defeating their opponents! Blind Harry's English can fight far better than this: so far from despising the 'auld ennemys,' he knows well that 'it cummys off witt enemys to commend' (8, 562), and does so on many occasions, *e.g.*—

> 'Perseys war trew and ay of full gret waill,
> Sobyr in pes and cruell in battaill.' (3, 307.)
>
> 'Hew off Morland on Wallace followid fast;
> He had befor maid mony Scottis agast,
> Haldyn he was off wer the worthiast man,
> In north Ingland with thaim was leiffand than.' (5, 815.)
>
> 'Gude men off wer ar all Northummyrland.' (7, 559.)
>
> 'Yeit Inglismen, that worthi war in wer,
> Into the stour rycht bauldly can thaim ber.' (7, 1001.)
>
> 'Yon Sewart is a nobill worthy knycht;
> Forthwart in wer, rycht worthy, wys and wicht.
> His assailye he ordannys wondyr sayr
> Ws for to harm, no mannys wyt can do mar.
> Plesand it is to se a chyftane ga
> So chyftanlyk,' etc. (9, 893.)

Despite all his patriotism, he can recognize the deplorable side of the internecine war:—

> 'Off crystin blud to se it was gret syn
> For wrangwis caus: and has beyn mony day.' (9, 918.)

He can also recognize the Scottish defects, such as their inferiority with the bow:—

> 'Few off thaim was sekyr of archary;
> Bettyr thai war, and thai gat evyn party,
> In field to byde, othir with suerd or speyr.' (4, 559.)

> 'Quhen schot was gayn, the Scottis gret confort had
> At hand-strakys thai war sekyr and sad.' (10, 859.)

In all the course of the poem we cannot recall a single expression against the English which does not result entirely from a sense of cruel injustice at their hands, or describes them otherwise than as rendered wicked by the sense of unbridled power: certainly he never uses such a phrase concerning them as he does when he calls the Highlanders and Irish 'thai bestly folk' (7, 646, 790). His standpoint is one of pure national hatred of the oppressors, and what Scot will say it was unjust? It is all very well for us after nearly three centuries of peaceful union to try to look at these things calmly, but how *could* Scotland think calmly of England about the year 1460? Where was the 'ludicrous prejudice' *then* in the solemn exhortation—

> 'Yhe nobill men that ar off Scottis kind
> Thar petous dede yhe kepe into your mind.'

They had to their own satisfaction proved for a century and a half that 'Suthroun are full sutaille euirilk man,' and every true Scot would echo the minstrel's words—

> 'Becaus I am a natyff Scottis man,
> It is my dett to do all that I can
> To fend our kynrik out off dangeryng.'

It is of Scotland, as it ought to be, that the minstrel's foremost thought always is. When Wallace and Stewart fall out at Falkirk, he does not think of the consequences to either of them: it is, 'Allace, gret harm fell Scotland throuch that stryff!' It is of Wallace as the deliverer of Scotland that he has told his tale:

> 'Scotland may thank the blyssyt happy tym
> At he was born,'

and he has not dealt more severely with England than was absolutely necessary to emphasise with sufficient force the great service of his hero and the value of the national freedom which his efforts helped so much to gain.

There remains yet one important feature of the poem, one concerning which many more or less wise remarks have often been made—that of the character of Wallace as depicted by Blind Harry. A German scholar has been at the pains to depict the characters of Robert and Edward Bruce as described by Barbour,—'ein literar-historischer Versuch,' he calls it: let us look a little at Wallace as described by Blind Harry, but here we must omit the 'historic' part of the attempt, and simply regard it from the point of view of a literary account of a national hero, though this is a section which must be given in outline merely.

In the first place, it makes us smile as much as his predecessors' maps made Herodotus, when we hear or read that Blind Harry has given us such accounts of Wallace at times as would lower our opinion of him as a national hero, inasmuch as he represents him committing atrocious acts of cruelty and bloodthirstiness. Now, where does our whole idea of Wallace in the first instance come from except from the pages of Blind Harry himself, or rather Hamilton's version of him? But for this poem, Wallace would never have occupied a prominent place in the popular imagination, for the simple reason that so little would have appeared about him in history, to say nothing of the impossibility of writing such books as the *Scottish Chiefs* and other more or less inspiring works, whereby Wallace's fame has been spread. Barbour never mentions him; Wyntoun treats of him very briefly, and refers to the 'gret gestis' which he had heard of as composed about 'his gud dedis and manhade;' and even the voluminous and veracious Hector Boece tells us little of him; as his patient translator remarks somewhere in the course of his 61,000 lines—

> 'Of this matere quha likis for to luke,
> There sal ye fynd into Blind Hareis buke
> The fassoun al declairit at gret length:

I can nocht say gif it has ony strength
Of suthfastness or yit of verite :
Thairfor as now I lat al sic things be.'

Neither can we vouch for the soothfastness or the verity of the portrait, but we do maintain that we have no right to take all the good and noble sides of Wallace's character out of Blind Harry, and from these build up a beautiful ideal of a humane knight and far-sighted patriot, and then denounce our original authority because he is so unfeeling as to mar our fair picture with less pleasing touches. Has it ever entered any one's head to deny the Douglas Larder or the Hership of Buchan, or Bruce's method of getting information 'throu vomen that he wald with play, That vald tell all that thai mycht here,' or Bruce's angry remonstrance with Sir Colin Campbell, when he knocked him down 'with ane trunsioune,' or his dissimulation with regard to the English array before Bannockburn, because they might lower our idea of such great heroes? Surely not; and if Blind Harry conceives Wallace as one in whom the sense of wrongs from the Southeron could overcome every feeling save that of revenge, what proof have we that his view is a mistaken one? It is plain, too, that the minstrel has a fine appreciation of propriety in the matter, and only brings Wallace to the full height of savage exasperation after the murder of his wife. At first Wallace opposes the English with all his might on purely patriotic grounds:

'Willyham Wallace, or he was man of armys,
Gret pitte thocht that Scotland tuk sic harmys;
Mekill dolour it did hym in his mynd,
For he was wys, rycht worthy, wycht and kynd.'

This feeling and the loss of several of his near kindred are given as Wallace's first incitements to hatred of the Southeron, the 'Inglis men that dois us meikle der' (*injury*), and against them his whole mind is bent on nothing but slaughter.

'It was his lyff and maist part of his fude,
To see them shed the byrnand Sothroun blude.'

His chief regret in prison is that 'our few Sothroune on to the deid I drave;' too little had been done to satisfy his revenge: 'off us thai haif undoyne may (*more*) than ynew; My faithfull

fadyr dispitfully thai slew, My brothir als and gude men mony ane.' His first important battle is appropriately fought on the very spot where he suffered this loss: 'Her was my fadyr slayne; My brothyr als, quhilk dois me mekill payne.' From this determined hatred nothing can turn him:—

> 'Thocht thai mycht ples him as a prince or king,
> In his mynde yet remanyt ane other thing;
> He saw his enemys maistris in this regioune.'

As regards the means adopted to lessen the number of these enemies, the cutting off of small bands or single men, what other course could be adopted by a handful of outlaws, however brave or desperate? Does anyone suppose that Bruce and Douglas never touched an Englishman, unless the latter were immensely superior in numbers, as they always are when Barbour thinks the story worth relating? Where the country was so overrun with English soldiery it is surely no disparagement to Wallace, or to Blind Harry's conception of him, to believe that he took every means in his power to carry out his one aim in life:—

> 'Na syn thai thai thocht, the samyn thai leit us feil,
> Bot Wilyam Wallace quyt our quarrell weill.'

The murder of his wife and the subsequent hanging of the Barons naturally only intensify this savage resentment against every Englishman capable of bearing arms, women and priests being always excepted. His treatment of the English heralds, which seems so shocking to us, follows immediately on the first of these events, and the hearers of the minstrel's narrative would find its justification in this, as well as in the fact that the heralds had forfeited their right of safe conduct by conniving at the disguise of the Squire Fehew. It is in judging these things by modern standards that the great mistake lies, and the cruel punishments of the period would render the deed attributed to Wallace less atrocious then than it seems to us now. On the other occasion, under the excitement of a fresh grief, the death of Sir John Graham, we find him in as savage a mood:—

> 'The pytuous payn so sor thyrlyt his thocht,
> All out off kynd it alteryt his curage,
> Hys wyt in wer was than bot a wod rage.

His hors him bur in field quhar so him lyst :
For off himself as than litill he wyst.
Like a wild best that war fra resoun rent
As wytlace wy in to the ost he went,
Dingand on hard.' (10, 394).

This may be all very barbarous, but it is none the less vigorous, and probably more like the real Wallace than our 19th century notions would have him to be. To say that Blind Harry's picture of him goes against our conception of Scotland's greatest patriot must either mean that this conception is a purely *a priori* one, or that the minstrel is inconsistent, and this he certainly is not. His Wallace is of the same mind from beginning to end, and we must take him as we have received him, or be content with meagre facts that give us no ground for estimating his character at all.

We have only space to say a little of Blind Harry's conception of Bruce, which is by no means so favourable as Barbour's. Not only does he emphasise Bruce's earlier connection with England, which Barbour gracefully passes over, but he plainly states his preference for Wallace, except for the fact that Bruce was King. Perchance his hearers, he thinks, may say that Wallace was nothing to Bruce.

' He was als gud, quhat deid was to assaill,
As off his handis, and bauldar in battaill,
Bot Bruce was knawin weyll ayr of this kynrik.'

Nor is it the least charming part of Blind Harry's work, though the most full of tragic irony, when he tells of Wallace's renewed efforts to win Bruce over to the Scottish side. It is one of his striking contrasts, already referred to, to bring in

' Robert Bruce contrar his natiff men.'

or when Bruce wounds Wallace at Falkirk,* and the conversations between the two heroes, whether by Carron side or in the chapel at Dunipace, are perhaps the most dramatic scenes in the whole of old Scottish literature. The terrible earnestness of Wallace is so well contrasted with the lighter spirit

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* Mr. Moir says here in a note, 'Nobody but Bruce could hurt Harry's hero!' We think the idea is much better than that: it is the *contrast* noted above: *cf.*, 'Behald, yon Scot ettis his awn blud' (10, 536).

with which Bruce regards the matter, who can keep his good humour even when told, 'In cursyt tym thou was for Scotland born.'—'Than lewch the Brus at Wallace ernystnas,' a lightness of heart which appears again in Barbour when Bruce searched out Comyn—

> 'And schawyt him *with lauchand cher*
> The endentur : syne with a knyff
> Rycht in that sted hym reft the lyff.' (2, 34).

It is noticeable that Blind Harry makes Bruce anxious to have Wallace to help him.

> 'Than said the Bruce : "Fell thar sa fayr a chance
> That we mycht get agayn Wallace fra France,
> Be witt and force he couth this kynryk wyn.
> Allace, we haiff our lang beyn haldin in twyn!"
> To that langage Cumyn maid na record,
> Off ald deides intill his mynd remord.' (10, 1141).

And whether this be historically accurate or not, any more than Bruce's grief at coming too late to Scotland, or Sir Edward's high commendation of him ('War nocht Wallace, we had neuir entryt in;' 'Had nocht beyne he, ye suld nocht had entress into this rewlm, for tresoun and falsnes,') yet it shows the minstrel's keen appreciation of the value of contrasting the two characters with each other, a point which Barbour loses in having no other great personage to contrast Bruce with. It is this which forms one of the great interests of the last two books of the *Wallace*, and makes the end of it so much less tame than that of the *Brus* where the two great heroes have disappeared and left no one to take their place.

The question has often been discussed whether Blind Harry was really blind, or at least whether John Major was right in saying that he was blind from his birth. This is another of those side issues which are apt to vitiate all real judgment of a literary work, and we conceive that it has really no place in an estimate of his literary merit. That the minstrel was blind for a great part of his life must be accepted as certain, both from Major's testimony and from his name itself, but it is quite possible that his blindness in earlier life may only have been

partial. It is not uncommon even yet, especially in country districts, to call people blind who have really only defective vision, and it is by no means beyond the bounds of possibility that the minstrel may never have been totally blind. But to make the poem any test of this seems a very precarious proceeding; we might with equal plausibility assert that we have not Blind Harry's *Wallace* at all—neither the MS. nor the early editions say so! Blind or not, however, his work is a wonderful one; the literature of the middle English period has nothing which exactly parallels it; its only rival is the *Brus*, and we trust we have given reason for asking the learned critics to reconsider their judgment as to the relative merits of the two poems, a judgment which we conceive to have been greatly influenced by the historical considerations set forth in the beginning of this article. First of all, we beg of them to read him, 'and againe and againe,' and make bold to add in the words of the finest preface ever penned by man, 'And if then you doe not like him, surely you are in some manifest danger not to understand him.' Finally, if in this comparison we have said many things against the worthy John Barbour, we have done it from no idea of depreciating his great service to Scottish history and nationality, but only to maintain what seems to us the superior grace and power of the blind singer, whose own words may well be applied here :—

> 'Thocht he was best, non othir lak we nocht ;
> All servit thank to Scotland evirmar.'

W. A. Craigie.

ART. IX.—SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

GERMANY.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (April, May, June).—For various reasons, which it is not necessary to inquire into, the novel of clerical life does not play so important a part in continental as it does in English fiction. That material for it is not wanting, and that, in the hands of a writer of talent and experience, it can be made as effective and interesting with a German village priest as with an English curate, or even dean, for its hero, is shown by the serial which runs through the three numbers for this quarter, and in which Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach studies with remarkable insight, and depicts with vigorous and accurate touch, the mental and moral struggles of a Catholic priest. Some notion of the special phase which the author has chosen for her subject may be gathered from the title, 'Glaubenlos.' Without attempting to give any details of the plot, we may recommend the story to English readers as one of the best given to the public by the *Rundschau* for a long time back.—The conclusion of Herr Spitta's study of the place and importance of the ballad in music, is followed by a most interesting and valuable archæological paper which Herr von Liliencron devotes to four runic stones which have been discovered in Schleswig. From the account which he gives of them, it appears that one of them was erected to the memory of Skardi, one of the Anglo-Saxon warriors who accompanied King Sven to England in 944, and helped him to capture London.—In the first two numbers, Herr Julius Rodenberg gives a very interesting account of a spring excursion to Malta.—Herr von Langegg contributes a short sketch, of which the subject is Juan Latino, a poet mentioned by Cervantes. He wrote a Latin poem to celebrate the naval victory of Don John of Austria. Two remarkable circumstances about him are that he was the 'proles nigerrima,' the blackest progeny of Ethiopian parents, and that he married one of the most beautiful daughters of Granada.—The March number continues, and that for April closes for the present, Herr Hanslick's reminiscences, 'Aus meinem Leben.'—The only complete paper in the May part is a long description of Chicago by Herr Reyer.—An essay from the well-known military writer, Baron von der Goltz, appears in the last of this quarter's numbers. It deals with the battle of Plevna, and brings a warm tribute of praise to the endurance and courage of the Turkish reserve.—'German Art in German Universities' is the title of a paper by Professor Her-

man Grimm, whose remarks and suggestions should command attention at home, and will be read with interest abroad.—For the general reader, the most attractive and interesting contribution is that of Max Müller, who, in 'Meine Freunde in Indien,' sketches a number of portraits of Indian scholars with whom his studies have brought him into contact.—The diary of an English lady during the French Revolution, translated and published by Taine more than twenty years ago, supplies material for an interesting, though not particularly original, sketch.—Frau Lily von Kretschmann contributes the first instalment of an essay which students of German literature at the end of last, and the beginning of the present, century will read with interest and profit. It pictures the literary evenings of the Duchess Maria Paulowna, whose entry into Weimar, as the bride of Prince Karl Friedrich, was greeted by Schiller in the 'Huldigung der Künste.'

WESTERMANNS MONATS-HEFTE (April, May, June.)—A very remarkable article heads the first of these three numbers. The subject of it is Hermann Hendrich and mythological painting. Of the artist's work there is an excellent and appreciative survey by Herr Oskar Bie; but the most striking feature is the series of illustrations by which it is accompanied. Many of them are double-page, and they are all beautifully executed, and certainly add very materially to the reader's understanding and enjoyment of the essay. In many of Hendrich's pictures a weird and striking effect is produced by the introduction of visionary figures. In 'Atlantis,' a shadowy Walhalla rises before Eigil from the midst of the waves in which his ship is sinking. In 'Todesmahnen,' her husband's shadowy form walks by the side of the young widow. In 'Iris,' the foam, as it dashes over the sea-beaten rocks, assumed the shape of the goddess; and in 'Golgotha,' the shadow of Christ falling across a cleft in the rocky ground, pictures the crucifixion. All these striking effects are carefully reproduced in the engravings, for the sake of which alone this number is well worth possessing.—Running through the first two numbers, there is a well written, interesting, and profusely illustrated descriptive sketch of Elsass-Lothringen. Twenty-seven views impart additional clearness to the text and bring the annexed provinces with singular vividness before the reader.—Herr Hermann Frobenius gives a good account of Junker's African expedition. Here, too, pictorial representations have been brought in with good results.—A popular paper on natural history deals with colour in animals, and shows how much may be learnt as to their nature and habits, from the external

appearance.—Napoleon's expedition to Russia is made the subject of a very carefully historical study, by Herr Gustav Dahms, whose object it is to show more clearly both the causes and the effects of the great catastrophe. The article is carried over to the next number.—An article which at once attracts the English reader's notice, is that which is devoted to George Eliot. It is appreciative, but not exaggerated; and in point of literary excellence, it takes a high place amongst the contributions to the May number.—The well known scientist, Professor Wundt, has also a paper dealing with his work. Those for whom it is not a trifle too technical will find it otherwise most instructive reading.—A subject which is certainly not hackneyed, supplies Herr Schaarfschmidt with material for an interesting paper. He treats of lamps amongst the ancients; and in illustration of what he writes gives a whole series of sketches, mostly taken from lamps found in Pompeii.—The next number also contains a paper which few are likely to turn from by reason of its dealing with well known matter. It tells us all about the manufacture, and the use of the special Mexican product called Agave wine.—An old story, that of Cagliostro, is well re-told by Herr Cummerow.—The title of Herr Ruyssen's 'Ernst Renan,' explains itself. It is a well-written and warmly appreciative survey of the French writer's life and works.—In all the numbers there are notices of recently published works. Though necessarily brief, they nevertheless suffice to keep the reader informed on a subject of special interest, about which it is not always easy to learn what one would like to know, for purposes either of study or mere amusement.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (Drittes Heft, 1893). —This number opens with an able and timely article on 'Der Sprachbeweiss in der Litterarkritik, insbesondere des Alten Testaments.' Its value is perhaps increased by the fact that it is from the pen of Professor Eduard König, now of Rostock, and whose leanings are, it is well known, towards the conservative or traditional school. It has become of late a commonplace with some members of that school to make light of the critical labours of those who, on linguistic grounds, have called in question the unity and traditional date and authorship of certain books of the Bible. Professor König here contends that the changes in the spelling of words, in the grammatical forms made use of, and in the currency of certain phrases, formulas, and terms in any writing, are elements of considerable, nay often of decisive, importance in the determination of the age and authorship of the documents that go to make up any literature, and not least so of those that go to form the Hebrew Scriptures. He frankly admits, of course, that the

application of such tests as these is a delicate one, and that its validity depends on the skill, caution, and equipment for the task, of the critic. Even the most cautious and capable has often to present the results of his judgment with hesitancy, seeing these books have undergone so many revisions, and been transmitted to us by so many copyists; but that fact does not, in Professor König's opinion, rob the work of linguistic criticism of its worth. It is a department of critical science that cannot be dispensed with. He copiously illustrates its value by numerous examples from the texts of the Hebrew Scriptures where, when this test is applied with caution and a competent acquaintance with the Semitic languages, and the history of the Hebrew branch of them especially, the results are sure and conclusive.—The second article is a very elaborate one, and is on a very interesting and intricate problem. It is entitled, 'Das Judenchristentum in der Apostelgeschichte und das sogennante Apostelkonzil,' but in reality deals with a considerable section of the Acts of the Apostles from a critical point of view. It is by Professor Johannes Weiss of Göttingen. He reviews the positions taken up by Dr. Bernhard Weiss and Herr Paul Feine as to the composite character of the Acts of the Apostles, but his chief attention is directed to the recently published work of Professor F. Spitta of Strassburg,—'Die Apostelgeschichte, ihre Quellen und deren geschichtlicher Wert.' Dr. Bernhard Weiss and these others, though they differ in detail from each other, agree in tracing in the Acts two principal sources from which Luke drew in compiling his narrative. One of these was a Jewish-Christian document, and the other was representative of the Pauline or Gentile section of the early Church. It has been owing to these documents not being clearly differentiated that so many of the problems that have been vexing students of primitive Christianity, have arisen. Professor Johannes Weiss endeavours here to show how several of these, and very specially how that concerning the so-called Apostolic Council of Acts xv., and Galatians ii., become easy of solution, when these two sources are separated. The details are so numerous that we can only refer our readers to the article itself, which, we promise them, will amply repay those who interest themselves in these problems.—The other papers in this number are, 'Mathesius als Dichter, ein Beitrag zu seiner Biographie und zur Hymnologie,' by Professor Dr. Georg Loesche;' 'Glaube und Theologie,' by Herr Pfarrer Traub;' 'Die Rechtfertigung der Weisheit, Matthew xi. 19,' by Professor Warth; and 'Zu den Gedichten Melanchthons,' by Dr Enders.

RUSSIA.

VOPROSI PHILOSOPHII I PSYCHOLOGII (Questions, Philosophical and Psychological.)—Our journal begins its sixteenth number with a notice of Pirogoff as psychologue, philosopher, and divine. He appears to have been a medical man of high repute and wide culture, but M. Pyaskoffski, who is the author of the paper, gives us very few biographical details. He has left some autobiographical notices of himself under the simple title of the 'Journal of an Old Doctor,' on which our author discourses as to the value of biography, and particularly of autobiography as opening up to the men of his time, not only the outward man with his habitudes and tendencies, his familiar features and the impression he made upon his day and generation, but especially the inward life of the man, the 'ground,' so to speak, of his inner self; his mind, heart, feelings, and will, as manifested to the world by the living force and actions, which came from that 'ground' of the inner man during his lifetime. In the sketch of Pirogoff, which M. Pyaskoffski has furnished, we have first notices of his psychological views; then of his philosophical, and finally of his theology. Regarding the first, our author recalls the question of Voltaire of some medical man of his day, in which he somewhat coarsely but wittily enquired, if the doctor in his researches had found any traces of an immortal soul between the bladder and the straight gut? hinting perhaps at the proverbial scepticism of medical men; but it would appear that here was a medical man who was not satisfied to remain in the material element, which forms the outer and visible part of the man. It was impossible for him to content himself with the researches of the outward or external part of the man as revealed to the anatomist or the physiologist, he found it necessary to go to the higher and spiritual element as the source of reason, will, feeling and life. Pirogoff seems to have found in the *Ego* or *personality*, something corresponding to that true reality (Sein) of which Plato made so much in his philosophy as the τὸ ὄντως, ὄν, the reality or really existent. This, the Ego, he held to be whole, indivisible, and identical in the whole course of our life. Notwithstanding the localization in the brain of the physical functions, he held that the Ego, nevertheless, could not be localised. He held also that the sensational or emotional element partook of this absolute and abiding character of the Ego. Pirogoff did not believe in the *unconscious*, of which so much has been made by Hartmann and others. Notwithstanding his experience as a physician, he leaned to the side of the spiritual and rational in psychology, held that the Ego was independent of matter as a purely psychical element, bound to the body by a

mysterious mystical, ethereal element. Another statement of his views concerning the Ego, is that besides its unity and wholeness or completeness, he held it to be a living, fundamental and organic element in our physical nature. It is difficult to give in brief a description of Pirogoff's philosophical views. He refused to be tied down to the so-called positivism. He found it, as he himself states, to be 'cabined, cribbed, confined' within its narrow limits, and had nothing to say about other systems and views of truth. But if his philosophic views were of such a a broad indefinite character, this was much more true of him as a theologian. Still he accepted the Christ for what He really was possessed of, a Divine Nature, and held views quite conservative about the origin of the Gospels.—The second article, by M. Konissi, is on the Great Science of Confucius. The Chinese hold that their own land is the oldest of all the lands in the world. This may be doubted, but there can be no question as to the remote antiquity of the time when the foundation of the Empire was laid. He holds that the historical life of the Chinese goes as far back as 17 centuries before the age of Jesus Christ. From the time of the Ruler over the Heavenly Empire—Sion—who ruled between the 17th and 18th centuries, from which time there have been preserved more or less trustworthy accounts concerning the Chinese Empire and the life of its people. Already, in the 12th century B.C., the Chinese had come to exist in a high degree of self-originated culture, and intellectual and moral civilization, as testified to by folk-songs and hymns, which make up the collection known as Si-king. These were wrought over again into intellectual and moral systems or world-conceptions, to which in the fourth and fifth centuries B.C., Confucius gave the authority the weight of his. The Chinese preserved these very carefully, and strove with all their power to preserve them from change or alteration. Although not seldom, differences manifested themselves in the doctrine, the Chinese looked and still look upon these as heresy, and always strove and still strive to put an end to them. In such wise, thanks to the unwonted conservatism called into being by Confucius, the culture and the intellectual and moral world-conception of the ancient Chinese have been preserved almost in the same form in which they existed about three thousand years ago! The culture created by the ancient Egyptians, Semites and Assyrians, reached a completeness of its own, but was not stable or permanent. It disappeared from the face of the earth together with those that had called it into being. Although written and visible embodiments and monuments of these people exist, and though in these later years much has been done, and many valuable discoveries have been made by both Egyptologists

and Assyriologues, yet these sciences are not in a position to give us a complete representation either of their social life or their religious, moral world-conceptions. In our researches into the culture and also the intellectual and moral conceptions of the ancient Chinese, we encounter no such difficulty, though on account of their political isolation, there has been very little research into their history and conditions. 'This has led me,' says the author, 'to the thought, if it were not possible in some measure to translate the sacred books of the Ancient Chinese into the Russian language, in order that their intellectual and moral conceptions concerning the greatest things at least in part, and especially the moral philosophy of that great genius of the far East, Confucius, should be open to the researches of Russian science. Accordingly we have a translation of that introductory treatise of the Confucian morals, known as the Great Science.' This is a treatise more or less systematic on the foundations and advantages of morality. The book itself is, in its extent very insignificant, and yet there is in it a great body of thought expressed by Confucius and his successors. It is, besides, an excellent introduction to the teaching of Confucius in general; without it, the other Confucian books would be less comprehensible, the translation of which I would wish to lay before my readers. M. Konissi, the author of the article, has followed in his expositions Sin Kee, an expositor of the Chinese Sage, who lived about the twelfth century A.D., and was celebrated in his time as a teacher. He had been trained up in the precepts and system of Confucius, and became one of the most famous of its teachers, distinguished by his simplicity, clearness, and orthodoxy. The Great Science itself appears to us, composed as it was by Confucius, as Sin Kee tells us, to be only a dry repertory of morality, based on the ancient hymns and sacred books. In these precepts, the soul is to 'find rest,' to learn the 'end from the beginning,' and that 'the knowledge of the beginning is also the knowledge of the end.' But in order to reach knowledge, one must know the *essences* of things, and the causes or laws, to which the substances of things are subject.—The third article is the continuation of Prof. Kozloff's examination of the celebrated law of the three conditions or stages, and which led, according to M. Kozloff, to Comte's doctrine in regard to the classification of the Sciences. This leads to the conclusion that all human knowledge is of one kind, and may be therefore submitted to the one positive method. Prof. Kozloff passes on in the next place to the examination of this law of the human understanding passing through three successive stages, the theological, the metaphysical

and the positive. In the theological stage, men explain all occurrences by the will of the gods. In the second stage, the explanation is sought in abstract entities. 'Nature abhors a vacuum,' etc. Lastly, the human understanding arrives at the true view of the relations, and succession of phenomena. One of the most curious facts about this matter is that, according to M. Kozloff, Comte neither possessed himself, nor has anywhere given us a clear determinate conception either of Religion or of Metaphysics, or as we have seen even of Science itself. The supposed law is nowhere confirmed by historical facts, but is, on the contrary, opposed to them. Having a very superficial acquaintance with the history of Religion, and without having so much as dreamed of the existence of a discipline, named the philosophy of Religion, Comte understands after a very one-sided and naïve fashion, Religion to be a sort of *surrogate* for Science in the absence of which, people in a low degree of culture sought in the will of the gods, an explanation of the occurrence of certain phenomena. Finally, people sought in the gods an explanation of certain phenomena, but surely this is, after all, only one of the sides of Religion! Comte left out of view that in the religious consciousness, there is an expression of the synthesis of all the functions of our spiritual nature, except the philosophically knowing, noted by Comte. Religion finds its expression and satisfaction in man's moral nature, his feelings and his will, and finally the artistic technical side of some forms of human activity. Equally little was Comte acquainted with the history of Metaphysics, and of itself he had only a very confused notion. First of all, Metaphysics cannot take the place of Religion, nor serve as a transitional stage between it and science, for in every religious system, metaphysics constitutes a necessarily constituent part. In the formation of myths, in the very first stage of religion, we already encounter metaphysical conceptions. In fact metaphysics precedes that which Comte names Theology, and also that which he names Science. Comte's arbitrary conception of metaphysics is plain from this, that he permitted himself even in the field of positive science, to designate everything, as Huxley says, 'which did not please him,' by the name of metaphysics. Here Prof. Kozloff adds a few words on that to which he has already referred, the unsatisfactory conceptions possessed by Comte of the nature of science itself. While he was certainly better acquainted with the sciences than with the various forms of religion and metaphysics, yet at the same time knowing nothing of the theory of knowledge, of logic, metaphysics, etc., he was not able to raise himself to such a height as to be able clearly to to perceive before him in perspective what was the true character

of scientific knowledge. It can scarcely be doubted that Comte in the word science did not think of the unity of human thought illuminated by the light of reason. His use of the terms 'foresight' and 'profitable' in regard to science, show that he was far from comprehending the true 'dry' light of reason.—To this long and able article succeeds one by M. Boborikin on 'Beauty, Life, and Creation.' M. Boborikin refers at the outset of his article to a lecture read in St. Petersburg in 1892, by Prince Volkouski, and published afterwards in the *Vjestnik Evropi* under the title, 'Artistic Enjoyment and Artistic Creation.' The author takes this as a text from which to discourse on Esthetics, citing a whole series of aphorisms in the first place from Russian authors, as Gogol, Doshjeffski, Gontsharoff, Turgenieff, and Leo Tolstoi. He then passes into a wider circle, and quotes from St. Beuve, Kant, Herbert Spencer, etc.; but the criticism deals more with the sense of the aphorisms cited, than either with Beauty or Creation. The main question dealt with is the relation of the aphorisms to life and the national treatment of esthetics. Our author notices the superior force of the newer German school, as Wundt, Weber, Helmholtz and Oettingen, and the methodical power of Taine and St. Beuve. He does not appear to be so intimately acquainted with the British School, though he cites the names of Hutchison, Hogarth, Burke, and later Bain, Herbert Spencer, James Sully, Grant Allen, and Francis Galton. It is to be regretted that he only mentions, and does not appear to have read what he names the antididactical studies of John Ruskin. The article is not completed, but is to be continued in following numbers.—Upon this follows an article by M. L. Lopatkin on 'Diseased Uprightness,' being a critique on an article in the previous number on Friedrich Nitsche, entitled a critique on the morals of Altruism. It is a kind of lay sermon showing that Nitsche's excessive scepticism is very justifiable, considering the general tendency of modern philosophy; and the writer notes especially the sceptical character of the Kantian philosophy in the (Kritik der reinen Vernunft) Critique of Pure Reason, by which he holds Nitsche fully justified in the conclusion to which he comes, and which certainly is a scepticism of the most serious kind.—The paper next in order is the continuation of Vladimir Solovieff's articles on the 'Signification of Love.' The author concludes that the signification and dignity of love is found in this, that it places us actually in unconditional relation to another, so that the whole centre of gravity of our being is modified. The importance of it thus is not that it is one of our feelings, but that it is a carrying over of our whole living interest out of ourselves into another, as the cen-

tral point of our personal life. This *appropriation* of all true love, but especially of sexual love, distinguishes it from all other kinds of love by its greater intensity, more appropriating and *owning* character, and by the possibility of greater and more complete mutuality, so as actually to reduce two lives into one. It is *only* concerning it that the Divine Word has been spoken, and the 'two shall become one flesh.' Setting out from this point of view, M. Solovieff passes on to the spiritual idealistic relations into which love runs. It may even be hallowed and glorified by being illuminated by and through the Divine nature and bathed in the Divine love. From this point of view, the author refers to the glorification of love in the Middle Ages by the Minnesinger and the orders of knighthood. This runs also into the humorous and comic element, which we have in Don Quixote. Thence our author passes on to dwell on the inward character and nature of Love, to which the mere physiological union does not count for much. The author finally—though this article does not complete the series—proceeds to dwell on the powerfully quickening influence of Love in Literature and Art. —Professor Grote concludes the general section of his journal by a paper from his own pen on 'The Moral Ideals of our Time,' more particularly in relation to Friedrich Nitsche and Count Leo Tolstoi. He opens with the remark 'that for the observation of life our time has a special significance.' He begins his paper with several pages of an introduction, the gist of which is that he, Prof. Grote, believes that there has been in European civilization a conflict between the heathen world-conception, which was revived by the Renaissance, and which is still upheld by the positive and progressively scientific school which aims at the destruction of the Christian moral conception of the world, which has so long struggled for the conquest of humility. Prof. Grote admits that there is very much to be said for both ideals, and he suggests the possibility of a reconciliation by new methods and on new ground. Such reconciliations have been previously attempted but with very weak and unconvincing or few convincing results. The attempts are, however, from time to time renewed, and Prof. Grote seeks in special to show the characteristics of the latest attempts, the leader of one of the sides being found in Russia itself in the person of Count Leo Tolstoi, who upholds the Christian moral ideal, while Friedrich Nitsche, to whom we have referred in a previous article, is the flag-bearer on the side of the antique modern heathen positive and progressive scientific school. Prof. Grote thinks that a full exposition of the doctrines of the relative champions is not called for. Both protest most decidedly against the current moral conceptions of the

time, both against the inner spirit and external forms of the morality current in society, and hold that the results, such as lately in France, cannot be too strongly and forcibly repudiated and held up to moral scorn and contempt. Both protest equally lustily against the outer embodiment of our age-long organization of Christian Society, whether in Church or State, as a hypocritical covering up of sins and crimes under the mask of a pretended virtue and goodness! In the third place, there are certain positive tendencies common to both thinkers, to give in the life of man the victory to reason and investigation, to free man from certain false restraints and to seek a new and freer personality, and the establishment of a new Society and a new Humanity. Here, however, these thinkers part company. Nitsche would have mankind emancipated from all moral responsibility in the Christian sense of this term, and put under the dominion of certain choice individuals who are to control the masses. Nitsche is an enemy of the equality of mankind, and to the patience, endurance, meekness, sympathy and love of Christianity. He stands clearly upon the antique standpoint of the subjection of the masses, and even goes so far as to say, the 'more evil, there will be the more good!' Tolstoi regards the matter from a totally different point of view. Evil, according to him, consists in the departure from moral law, from failing to understand it, and turning one's back on its dictates. Both Nitsche and Tolstoi seek their heaven not in the future, but in the here and the *now*. Tolstoi, opposed to Nitsche, seeks to realise the Christian ideal in meekness, patience, and the voluntary submission to Moral Law. Nitsche sees the only good in Luther in his partiality to sensuous enjoyment. He is a materialist, atheist, and evolutionist of the most fantastical sort. Leo Tolstoi, though he does not believe in a future life, yet believes in the Kingdom of God as within the man! In the special part of the journal we have (1) a report of the International Congress for Criminal Anthropology in Brussels; (2) an article on the law of Perception; (3) On the Question of the problems and methods of Psychology; (4) On the Genesis of the Decay of the Moral Ideal. These are followed by the usual reviews of books and journals, and the report of the Moscow Psychological Society.

ROOSKAHYAH MYSL—*Russian Opinion*—(March, April and May).—These three numbers contain: (1) the remaining twenty-four chapters of the novel 'Our People,' by P. D. Boborykin; (2) the first twenty chapters of Mr. Thomas Hardy's well-known romance, 'Tess of the D'Urbervilles,' translated from English by V. M. S., and entitled 'Tess, Nahsleydnitsa

[Heiress] D'Orberviley'; (3) the remaining eleven chapters of 'A Tale of an Obscure Man,' by A. P. Tchekhoff; (4) four pieces of 'Poetry,' by V. N. Lahdyzhenski, S. G. Froogh (two), and D. S. Merezhkofski; (5) the remaining six chapters of 'Cosmopolis,' a romance by Polyah Bourje (Paul Bourget) translated from the French by M. N. Remezoff; (6) a further portion of the correspondence between 'Alexander Ivanovich Hertzen and Natalie Alexandrovna Zakharin'; (7) an anonymous paper on Zemstvo economy, entitled 'Endowment of Peasant Farms'; (8) the remaining three chapters of I. I. Ivanoff's 'Philosophy without Facts'; (9) the remainder of the essay on 'The Moormanski Coast, its Inhabitants and Industries,' by N. V. Maximoff; (10) 'New Works on Greek History,' being a review by P. G. Vinogradoff of 'A History of Greece, Parts I. and II.,' by E. Abbott, and of 'Griechische Geschichte, Bände I., II. and III.,' by A. Holm; (11) 'On Pessimism in Contemporary Literature,' a review of George Pellissier's 'Essais de litterature contemporaine,' by O. T. V.; (12) 'Scientific Views,' containing among other things the remainder of the paper on the 'Anthropological Congress at Brussels,' by D. A. Dril, and a remarkable paper, entitled, 'Struggle with Contagious Diseases,' by V. V. Sviatlofski; (13) 'Two Educations,' a public Lecture read before the Moscow Committee of Letters on February 1st (13th) of the present year, by V. O. Klewchefski; (14) 'On the Progress in our day of the Idea of International Arbitration Courts,' a Lecture delivered in the University of Moscow in September 1892, by L. A. Kamarofski; (15) 'Wine or Misfortune?' a review of Henry Senkevich's romance, 'Without Dogmas,' in the Russian translation of V. M. Lavroff, given in the pages of this journal, by M. A. Protopopoff; (16) 'Foreign Review,' by V. A. Goltseff, which notices the military crisis in the German Parliament; Bulgarian affairs in extra large measure; the Gladstonian Ulster difficulty; Spanish, Portugese, and Italian matters; French scandals, with that of Panama to the front; American doings, notably the advent of the new President Cleveland, and the Behring Seal Fishery question; Austria-Hungarian, Swedo-Norwegian, and other foreign topics of interest; (17) 'Home Review,' which contains a full discussion of domestic matters; (18) 'Childhood and Adolescence of T. G. Shefchenka,' a most promising poet who died at the early age of 34, by his friend, A. Y. Konisski; (19) the 'Bibliographic Division,' which contains notices of 105 works, including those of 'Shelley,' translated from English by K. L. Balmont, and 'The Economics of the Russian Village,' by J. A. Hourwich, New York; (20) the remainder in 97 pages of the romance 'At the Dawn,' (Nah Zahrey) by G. A. Matchet;

(21) 'Contemporary Tunis,' a highly interesting paper by M. I. Venewkoff; (22) 'Female Types in Antique Tragedy,' a Lecture delivered in the University of Kazan by Th. G. Mishchenko; (23) a lengthy and eulogistic record of the cultured 'T. N. Granofski'; by P. G. Vinogradoff; (24) an essay on 'National Medicine,' by V. V. Biryoukovich; (25) 'Ethics and Esthetics,' a review by M. A. Protopopoff of Tchernishefski's work, 'Esthetics and Poesy'; (26) a further contribution to the thoughtful series of papers entitled, 'Literature and Life,' by N. K. Michaeloffski; (27) a necrology of 'A. N. Engelhardt; by A. Th. F.; (28) a complete tale by N. A. T., entitled 'V'Gminnom Soodey'; (29) 'Tale of an Old Boatswain,' Part I., by K. M. Stanewkovich; (30) 'To what Life?' a short tale by Ernest Algren, translated from the Swedish; (31) a further instalment of P. N. Milyoukoff's 'Chief Current of Russian Historical Thought in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries'; (32) 'Charles Darwin and his Theory,' the first portion of a Review by M. A. A. of Mr. Murray's edition of the 'Life and Letters of Charles Darwin'; (33) 'Hippolyte Taine,' a short estimate of his worth, translated from the Danish by George Brandess; (34) 'Law and Equity of the "New Courts," and of the Zemstvo Directorate,' by G. A, Djanshieff; (35) 'A New Book on Russia,' a review of Josif Modrich's Torino-Roman 'Russia: Note e Recordi di Viaggio'; (36) 'Ministerial Roll of the United States of Switzerland,' the first portion of a review of Dupriez's 'Les ministres dans les principaux pays d'Europe et d'Amérique, tome deuxième'; (37) an instalment of a most exhaustive essay on 'Taxation and National Economy,' by I. A. Goloobeff; (38) a sixth 'Letter on Literature,' by M. A. Protopopoff; (39) 'Contemporary Art,' devoted to Moscow theatrical doings; and (40) Oproverzhenie,' an overthrow or refutation of some unpalatable matter in a previous number of this journal. This is the first exercise of authority we have observed since our connection with this able monthly. When we mention that the forty items chronicled above run to 1419 pages, we may well congratulate the editor on his wonderful good-fortune in so generally satisfying the demands of a somewhat rigorous censorship.

ITALY.

L'ARCHIVIO DELLE PROVINCE NAPOLITANE (1893. No. 1). —E. Nunziati continues his chapters on the early years of the reign of Ferdinand of Aragon in Naples.—M. Schipa brings up his story of the Duchy of Naples to the year 893.—E. Geland publishes some hitherto inedited and unknown documents pre-

served in the Vatican, and belonging to the history of the country of Celano, from 1184 to 1594.—N. Barone revives the memory of a Neapolitan Grammatist, Lucius Giovanni Scoppa, who founded a school, and whose name is preserved on a tablet in one of the oldest churches in Naples, San Pietro in Vincoli.—B. Capasso continues his description of the plan of Naples in the eleventh century.

La Cultura (April 16th and 23rd), Contains 'The Story of Socialism,' by B., and 'The Recollections of Alex. de Tocqueville,' by the same.—'The Procedure of Civil Marriage,' by S. Jannuzzi.—'The Seminaries,' by Devone.—'The Origin of the Siena University,' by A. Professione.

La Cultura (May, June), Contains 'The Evangel of St. Peter,' and 'Universities and Students,' by B.—'The New Economic School,' by T. A. Rossi.

Giornale Storico Della Letteratura Italiana (1893, Nos. 2 and 3).—Three interesting papers form the bulk of these numbers. 'Niccolo Da Correggio, a Renaissance Courtier,' is by L. Renier; 'Carlo Cantone, a Hermit of the Eighteenth Century,' by G. Malagoli; and 'The Song-Book of Petrarch,' by G. Mestica,—The Bibliographical Review is long and varied.

La Nuova Antologia (April 1st.)—G. Boccardo writes on Italian Banks, examining the question from various points of view.—E. Cocchia describes ancient customs as seen in the 'Satyricon' of Petronius. The paper is continued in the following number.—G. Sforza contributes a page of history from the private papers in the Royal Archives at Massa, relating to the revolution of 1831 against the Duke of Modena.—'Without Words,' is a clever social sketch by Ugo Fleres.—M. Ferarris discusses at length the Italian Maritime Treatises.—Some beautiful idylls are contributed by the poet Constantino Nigra.—The Bibliographical Bulletin notices Robert Griffins' 'The Case against Bi-metalism,' as meriting particular attention.—(April 15th).—The two distinguished writers, E. Panzacchi, and Fedele Lampertico, contribute short articles in praise of King Humbert and Queen Margaret.—Countess Lovatelli writes a curious and interesting paper on the worship of water and the superstitious practices thereto belonging, as seen in ancient times and the Middle Ages.—A. G. Barrili commences a novel entitled 'The Drama of St. George,' continued in following numbers.—Verax has a long notice, with plenteous quotations, of 'The Diplomatic Reminiscences of Lord Loftus.'—Verdi's new opera has incited many Italian writers to study Shakespeare more attentively, and here we have an article by R. Grovagnoli on 'The Progenitors

of Falstaff, as found in the works of the Latin poet Plautus.'—G. D'Annun Zio contributes some Naval Odes.—(May 1st).—G. Giacosa relates his impressions of New York.—E. Masi sends the first part of a study of the 'Character and Deeds of Catherine Sforza.'—Continuing his paper on 'Italian Banks,' Signor Ferraris makes a proposal for a new Bank of Italy.—G. Boglietti contributes a political article, and E. Martini founds an interesting paper on 'The Rose in Science and Industry,' on Countess Lovatelli's researches into the history of that flower.—A. Franchetti writes historical notes relating to the Argentine Republic.—The usual bulletin notices Professor Cunningham's 'The Growth of Egyptian Industries and Commerce in Modern Times,' not always agreeing with the author's conclusions.—(May 16th).—After the second and concluding portion of Masi's article on 'Catherine Sforza,' the next paper is a long account of 'The Belgian Constitution and its Revision,' by L. Palma.—'The Political Nepotism of the Sixteenth Century,' is a learned paper by Caterina Pigorini-Beri.—G. Goiran writes on the army and navy. He is entirely in favour of keeping up the European armies.—G. Uzielli writes on the dawn of the discovery of America in 1464.—G. Riculini gives a poetical translation of of Catullus's 'Thetis and Peleus.'—The bulletin notices Karl Karoly's 'The Paintings of Florence,' finding in it many mistakes, though an improvement on most Italian Guide-books.—Favourable notice is also taken of F. W. Tausig's 'The Tariff History of the United States,' and of L. Elliott's 'The Tariff Contravention in the United States.'

La Nuova Antologia (June 1st and 15th).—Very interesting is a paper by E. Nencione on some new verses by Italian poets, of whom Gabriel D'Annunzio holds the first place, Arthur Graf the second, and Ada Negri the third. The latter lady poet has been called 'The John Baptist of Socialism in Italy.' She exaggerates her socialistic sentiment in hatred of the *bourgoisie* and praise of the people, but the pure enthusiasm of her love for the sacred rights of the people gains the favour of her readers. Both she and Gabriel D'Annunzio have somewhat of the accent of Walt Whitman, without any base imitation.—An article on Bank Notes is followed by a paper on J. J. Weiss's book 'On Goethe.'—'The Woman's Palace at Chicago' is the subject of the next article, and L. Fortis then gives some account of the Sardinian Dramatic Company, and the actor Gustav Modena.—P. Mantegazza criticises Wallace Wood's 'Ideals of Life.'—The Literary Notice mentions J. Schoenhof's 'The Economy of High Wages,' and E. Atkinson's 'Taxation and Work.'—A. Solerti writes the story of 'Ugo and Parasina,' according to recent docu-

ments.—A. Zardo draws a comparison between 'John of Procida' and 'William Tell.'—J. Valletta writes on the musical characters of Verdi's Falstaff.—Captain Perini proposes methods by which property in the Mareb-Millasg might be reserved for Italian colonists without offending the native populations.—E. Masi furnishes some historic, and O. Marrucchi some archaeological notes.

La Rassegna Nazionale—(April 1st).—Padre Giovannozze describes all that till now has been discovered about the planet Mars.—E. Pascal offers a few thoughts on Classical Instruction.—G. Signorini reminds Italians of what they owe to Antonio Bruni, the founder of Italian Public Libraries.—G. Rendoni shows the importance of D. Claruti's 'History of the Court of Savoy during the French Revolution and Empire.'—A. Colti closes his papers on 'Beauty as a means of Education.'—The Italian Deputy Bilia writes against the Divorce Law.—A portion of Abbé Fornari's 'Life of Jesus Christ,' relating to the Pentecost, is published in this number.—A. Brunialti describes the Home Rule Bill, and ends by saying that Mr. Gladstone has been almost miraculously preserved to his country for the purpose of resolving the greatest question that has ever been presented to England. He thinks the victory secure, and that truth and justice will gain the votes of the country.—(April 16th.)—R. discusses the limitations of divorce.—P. M. Salvago writes about the poet, Giovanni Daneo.—A. Astori contributes a pleasant paper entitled 'Idling in Switzerland.'—Signor Scalabrini relates his voyage on one of the 'Veloce' steamers in midwinter.—(May 1st.)—B. C. P. discusses the question whether history be a science or an art, and how it should be taught.—G. R. advocates the return in Italy to the old method of numbering the hours of the day up to twenty-four.—G. Segre gives the story of Falstaff as displayed in Shakespeare's Dramas.—The long-continued chapters by A. A. Di Pesaro, on the French Revolution and Cardinal Lavigerie are ended in this number.—The monthly literary review notices English books, 'The Republic as a Form of Government,' by G. Scott; 'The Remains of Ancient Rome,' by J. H. Middleton; 'Old Italian Masters,' by Stillmann; 'Hannibal,' by Colonel Dodge; are all fully and favourably reviewed.—'Mountaineering,' by C. T. Dent, receives much appreciation. The critic, however, thinks the title strange.—(May 16th.)—Besides papers on Oxygen Gas, by A. V. Vecchi, and on Ariosto's 'Satires,' by A. Dall Oglio, we have here a very flattering review of Ernest Néville's *Le Tamoingnage du Christ;* an interesting portion of Scalabrini's 'Impressions of Travel in the Argentine'; and a sketch of the career of the Italian novelist, Antonio

Foggazzarro, by S. Rumor.—(June 1st.)—Signorina Giovanna Penti devotes a page or two of this number to enthusiastic praise of Miss Kate Marsden, and her enterprise among the lepers.—A lecture on Capital and Labour by C. Pozzoni follows.—P. C. Della Spina contributes a long and careful study of the detractors and apologists of Machiavelli. The writer is unfavourable to Machiavelli's theories.—C. P. Assirelli publishes statistics showing the influence of Colonial Treaties on production in Italy.—G. Carigani points out the obstacles to any serious decentralization in Italy. It would be vain, he thinks, to recall the ministries of Crispi and Geoletti, because the Government will always remain in the hands of a Bureaucracy which impoverishes finances, embroils affairs, and renders everything insecure.—G. Albini draws a parallel between the French poet, André Chenier, and the Italian poet, Ugo Foscolo.—(June 16th.)—Lampertico contributes a paper on the poet Giacomo Zanelli, whose literary activity belongs to the middle of the present century.—G. Marcotti studies 'The Silkworm in Poetry.'—An historical notice on the Duke of Nivernais is furnished by V. D'Arisbo.—E. Coppi writes on 'The Second National Congress of Charitable Institutions.'—A. C. Scalabrini continues, from last February's number, his study of the temporal power of the Popes.

La Nuova Rassegna (June 25th).—Contains 'Francesco de Sanctis,' by L. Lodi.—'Discount and Emission Banks,' by G. de Greef.—'A Newly Found Picture by Raphael,' by E. Celano.—'Two Babies,' by A. Altobelli.—'The Law of Balances,' by A. Pierantoni.—'Cammillo Checcucci's New Poem,' by Annetta Baneschi-Ceccoli.—'The Flight of Patriots,' by C. de Castro.—'Comunal Autonomy after the Congress at Forlì,' by E. Perdisa.—'The Mystery of Mysteries,' by Gandolin.—'The Monument of Marino,' by D. Tordi.—'Against the Tablet in Honour of Shelley,' by U. Ojetti.—'Vittorio Arnaud,' (continuation) by A. Rossi.

Rassegna Delle Scienze Sociale e Politiche (April, May, June), contains: 'The Custom-House Policy of the United States,' by F. Lanza; 'The Moral Efficacy of the Conception of Society,' by G. Marchesini; 'Political Representation, a Biographical Note,' by X.; 'The Eight Hours Question in England,' by V. Menechelli; 'Collective Property, and Proposal for a Rearrangement,' by G. Cavalieri; 'The National Congress on Religious Instruction,' by E. Coppi; 'The Political and Social Ideas of an Italian Bishop, Monsignore G. Bonomelli,' by G. Cuntali; 'The Question of the Roumanians,' by L. Palma; 'Banks and Speculation,' by P. Aigardi; 'House-Holders,' by L. Ranieri.

RASSEGNA DELLE SCIENZE SOCIALI E POLITICHE (June 15th), Contains 'Banks and Speculation,' by L. Rodolfi.—'Banks of Emission,' by X. Y. Z.—'The Italian Legends in the East,' by C. de Stefani.

GIORNALE DEGLI ECONOMISTI (April) contains: 'The Situation of the Money Market,' 'Italian Banks of Emission,' 'Theroman Campagna and its Social and Economical Future,' 'Signor Muratori as an Economist.'

GIORNALE DEGLI ECONOMISTI (May), contains: 'The Situation of the Money Market,' by the Editor; 'The *Monti Di Pietà* in Italy,' by P. Stetta; 'The Economical Bases of Law,' by A. Loria; 'Economical Railways,' by E. Livieri; 'Foresight,' by C. Bottoni.

IL PENSIERO ITALIANO (April) contains: 'Hyppolite Taine,' by M. Lessona; 'Longiarmo at Montefusco,' by R. Mottola; 'A Philosopher in Embarrassment,' by A. Mase-Dari; 'Herbert Spencer and Justice,' by E. Morselli; 'Divorce and Woman,' by F. Luzzatto; 'Cremation in Pre-historic and Ancient Times,' by V. Grossi; 'Art and the Beautiful in Greek Philosophy before Aristotle,' by F. Momigliano; 'A Proposal for a Conference on the Divine Comedy,' by R. Petrisillo; 'Italian Interests in the Levant,' by L. Pavia.

LA NUOVA RIVISTA (May 21) contains: 'The Peril of Lombardy,' by T. Todi; 'A Stranger's Criticism of G. D'Annunzio's *L'Innocente*,' by R. Jacobson; 'After Sunset,' by G. A. Cesareo; 'The Literary Competition at the Milan Academy,' by C. Antona-Traversa; 'The Austrian School of Political Economy,' by A. Graziani; 'Victor Arnaud,' by A. Rossi; 'The Earth,' by Gandolin; 'For Dramatic Artists,' by C. Scotti; 'Goldoni's Logogriph,' by Carletti; 'New Books,' by G. Monaldi; 'Our Children,' by V. Berla.

LA NUOVA RIVISTA (June 4) contains. 'The Law of Balance in Representative Governments,' by A. Pierantoni; 'Elegies of Romagna,' by G. Mazzone; 'In Commemoration of Garibaldi,' by G. Stocchi; 'Monsignore Stefano Rossi,' by G. Fabbri; 'Luigi Ferrari and our Colonial Policy,' by G. Norsa; 'Deciphered Symbolism,' by C. Lombroso; 'University Lectures,' by L. L.; 'Exhibitions,' by D. Angeli; 'The Theatre of the 19th Century,' by G. Antona-Traversi; 'Vittorio Artaud,' by A. Rossi.

ITALIAN REVIEW OF PHILOSOPHY (May and June) contains: 'The Doctrine of Memory in the Works of De Carte, Male-

branche, and Spinoza,' by G. Dandolo; 'Psychology as an Experimental Science,' by G. Mantovani; 'A New Treatise on the Philosophy of Nature,' by A. Valdarnini; 'The Spectre in Hamlet,' by V. R. D'Alfonso.

FRANCE.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 2, 1893).—M. L. Horst has the first place in this number with the fifth and last of his series of 'Etudes sur le Deutéronome.' These studies have unfortunately appeared somewhat irregularly, and were begun so long ago, few as they are, as the summer of 1887. M. Horst is perfectly conscious, however, of the strain this puts on the memory of his readers, and endeavours here, by a brief summary of the results already arrived at, to make our task the lighter. He concludes here his section devoted to the 'Revue de la migration,' and then passes on to the legislative part which forms the chief element of the book. He enters very minutely into the details given in the earlier chapters, and compares the events and incidents there narrated with their parallels in Exodus and Numbers. His object is to discover whether these chapters are from one hand, or are compiled from various sources; and, if the latter, whether the compiler betrays acquaintance with the other, or any of the other, documents now incorporated in the Hexateuch. He takes the laws in the legislative part, not in the order in which they appear in the work itself, but according to the subjects rather with which they deal. He subjects these then to a similar detailed comparison with the laws on the same subjects which are to be found in other books, and brings out their points of agreement or difference. His investigations lead him to the conclusion that Deuteronomy, as it lies before us in its present form, is composed of a variety of extracts from various sources, and of groups of laws of different dates up to the eve of the Restoration. The compiler or compilers were acquainted with J. and E., but not with the Sacerdotal Code. M. Horst gives weighty reasons for disputing the common opinion of the critics of the Graf-Wellhausen school, that Deuteronomy was the code discovered in the temple in Joshua's reign, or formed the basis or justification of the reform attributed to that King. The narrative in 2 Kings, xxii., is not, in his eyes, altogether free from suspicion, but even if it be taken as a chapter of actual history, the points of agreement between Josiah's reform and the Deuteronomic laws are too few and too indefinite to rest any solid judgment on in favour of the asserted relation. But in any case, he contends, 'the book of the law' found in the temple could not have been our Deuteronomy in its present form. The silence (on

the subject of this discovery) of every other writer, contemporary or of a later date, is a fact which, in M. Horst's eyes, is inexplicable if such a book were actually found in the manner described in 2 Kings, and had created such a profound impression as it is there asserted to have done. These articles will no doubt receive the attention of both the critical and traditional schools, and they certainly deserve careful consideration.—M. A. Barth contributes the first instalment of last year's 'Bulletin des Religions de l'Inde.' In these 'Bulletins' the recent publications that are of any note, bearing on the subjects with which they concern themselves, are brought under the notice of the readers of this *Revue*, and their contents sketched and appraised. Here M. Barth gives a summary of the literature bearing on the Vedas and Brahmanism that has appeared last year and this. M. P. Regnaud's 'Etudes Védiques,' several of which were first published in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, receives special notice and somewhat severe handling.—Dr. Albert Reville reviews M. C. de. Harlez' 'Les Religions de la China' at some length; pointing out some defects as he regards them in the learned Belgian's work.

Revue Celtique (Avril. 1893).—This number opens with the first of what promises to be a valuable series of studies on the actual pronunciation of the dialects of Modern Irish. The present example is from Galway in the shape of a modern version of the well-known story of the murder of the only son of Aiffé, written down from the dictation of Mr. Thomas Ford. M. Dottin, the author of the article, begins with a discussion respecting modern Irish orthography and its relation to the ancient pronunciation of the language, and then presents us on one page with a phonetic transcription of the story, and on the opposite page with an orthographic transcription, followed by a translation in French.—Dr. Max Nettlau continues his notes on the Irish text of Togail Bruidne da Derga and connected stories.—In a charter belonging to the Abbey of Savigny, and dating back to about the year 1090, M. D'Arbois de Jubanville has discovered another example of the divine name Maponus. To the names of four out of nine witnesses are added indications of the places from whence they came. To one is added *de Mabono Fonte.* Mabono Fonte is the representative of a more ancient *Maponi Fonte*, and bears witness in the existence during the Celtic period to a Maponi Fons.—'La Lamentation de l'Irlande' is three versions of a poem, Irish, English, and Latin, taken from an Irish MS. in the Library at Gottingen, and apparently belonging to the seventeenth century. It bears to have been written by James Carthion, a Franciscan, while in captivity. M. Thurneysen, above whose name the con-

tribution stands, calls attention to the versification of the Irish version.—M. H. Thédenat continues his list of Ancient Gaulish names, barbarous and supposed to be such.—Besides a note by M. Loth, the 'Melanges' contains a couple of anecdotes from the Book of Leinster relating to St. Moling.—As usual the 'Chronique' is full of interesting news, and much may be gathered from the new section 'Periodiques.'

REVUE DES RELIGIONS (No. 3, 1893.)—M. the Abbé Desgodins, continues here the paper begun in the previous number on 'Buddhism, according to the Buddhists.' His object is to present Buddhism to his readers as it is regarded to-day by the adherents of that cult. He has long sojourned and laboured as a missionary of the Roman Catholic Church in Tibet, and has not only studied the history of Buddhism, but has endeavoured to see through the eyes, so to speak, of those who in these days of ours adhere to it. If not an altogether novel method of treating his theme, it is certainly unusual with writers on it, and the result is extremely interesting and profitable.—M. Castennet de Fosses gives us then the third instalment of his valuable treatise on Brahmanism.—It is the subject of castes that engages chiefly his attention here; and he sheds not a little light on this, to European readers, somewhat perplexing social and religious arrangement. M. the Abbé Sauveplane continues his series of articles on the Gilgames Tablets. This chapter is entitled 'E'tude sur le charactère et l'age du poèm,' and its sub-title will indicate sufficiently the nature of this part of his exposition, 'charactères génévaux.' He describes here the principal contents of the Epic, and brings out its historical and religious significance — the tentative efforts of human thought then and in that race to interpret for itself the mysteries of its surroundings, and discover the path of life.—The 'Chronique' here as usual is comprehensive, and the 'Bibliographie' very helpful.

REVUE DES ETUDES JUIVES (Octobre, Decembre, 1892).—The directors of this *Revue* have not yet made up their leeway in the issuing of their numbers. But they have had very considerable difficulties to contend with, and the readers of the *Revue*, knowing these difficulties, will readily sympathize with them, and patiently wait until affairs get readjusted. The illness and death of the late editor, and the loss of more than one valued contributor since—who have transferred their services to other literary channels—have crippled and disordered the management, but a little time is all that is required to put matters again in full and efficient order. The number before us is rich in contributions to the elucidation of obscure

questions in mediæval Jewish history. The first, however, is of perhaps more general interest. But it is a marvel that the subject should require in this age to be gravely dealt with at all. It is on what is known as 'The Blood Accusation,' or 'Ritual Murder'—the absurd charge made so often and so persistently that the Jews murder Christian children in order to secure their blood to mix with their Passover bread. M. Reinach Solomon here deplores the necessity of seriously attempting to refute this accusation, but shows how necessary it, even yet, is. He confesses too that the works—and their name is legion—which refute it and expose its absurdity, have not as yet succeeded, for one reason or another, in putting to silence the vendors of the charge. M. Loeb, it seems, had prepared a vast amount of facts and opinions, of judicial verdicts and scholarly investigations on the subject, and had hoped to produce an elaborate and complete vindication of the Jews from this horrible slander. But his death put an end to the project. The only other work which M. Solomon can refer to on the subject, as being at all complete and effective for its purpose, is Dr. Stack's recently published 'Der Blutaberglaube in der Menschheit, Blutmorde und Blutritus.' But even this work, valuable as it is, does not meet the need of the present hour, and M. R. Solomon sketches, in outline, the form which he thinks such a work should take, and then fills in his sketch with some leading facts under each head to show how effective such a refutation might be. And certainly if carried out on M. Solomon's plan, and with the requisite knowledge of the subject, it would be a most valuable and interesting chapter of human history. Here is what he suggests as the plan of the work. It should consist of seven sections or chapters:—I. The history of the accusation, which was first made by the Pagans against the Christians; then by the orthodox Christians against the Schismatics; and finally by Christians and Mussulmans against the Jews. II. Examination of the texts of the Talmud and other Hebrew works which it has been asserted prescribe this ritual murder. III. Biblical and other texts which *a priori* refute the possibility of the accusation. IV. Examination of the facts alleged and the evidence submitted to every judicial tribunal which has investigated such cases. V. Bulls of the Popes Innocent IV., Gregory X., Martin V., and Paul III., denouncing the charge as false, and the testimonies of such Christian scholars and writers as Delitzsch, Renan, Manning, etc.; and VI., Causes of the persistence of the accusation, to wit, the ancient superstition regarding the efficacy of blood; the bitterness of religious animosity; the power of covetousness; and the history of modern anti-

semitism. Under each of these heads M. Solomon gives a brief series of illustrative facts by way of indicating the wealth of material that lies at the service of the author of a work of this nature.—The articles that bear on points of Jewish history may be here simply noted. 'Les relations hébraiques des persecutions des Juifs pendant la première croisade,' by Porgès; 'David Carcassoni et le rachat par la communauté de Constantinople des Juifs faits prisonniers durant la persecution de Chmielnicky,' by Dr. Kaufmann; 'Notes sur l'histoire des Juifs en Saxe,' by M. Alphonse Lèvy, and the continuation of M. C. De Béthencourt's, 'Les trésors des Juifs Sephardim.' In the section, *Notes et Mélanges*, we have 'Notes exégétiques,' by M. Mayer Lambert, the passages discussed being Gen. xxvii. 33, and Eccles. ii. 3; 'Un livre inconnu de R. Bahia ben Joseph;' 'Un rituel hébreu manuscript à Cambrai;' 'Des Juifs gardiens des lions;' and 'Mélanges de lexicographie talmudic.' The annual report regarding the publications of the Société des Etudes Juives is also given in this number, and there is bound up with it an Index to all the 25 volumes of the *Revue* already published, a most desirable adjunct.

Revue des Deux Mondes (April, May, June).—The first of the two April numbers contains the first instalment of what is unquestionably the most important contribution of the quarter. It is entitled 'Prosper Mérimée, d'après des Souvenirs personnels et des Documents inédits.' The author is M. Augustin Filon, who, before the fall of the second Empire, was tutor to the young Prince Imperial. His position afforded him many opportunities of meeting Mérimée, who was one of the most frequent and favoured guests at the Elysée and Fontainebleau. This circumstance alone, would have added value to his monograph, but it has still more to recommend it to public attention. For many years before the Countess Eugénie became Empress of the French, Mérimée had been an intimate friend of the family and maintained a close correspondence with her mother. His letters, which have all been preserved, and of which one cannot but express the hope that there may some day be a complete edition, were placed at M. Filon's disposal. He has made judicious yet free use of them, and his numerous quotations from them must be indicated amongst the most striking features of his sketch. From the literary point of view, too, his biographical and critical study stands high. Indulgently as he writes of Mérimée, however, he does not succeed in making him appear a very taking character, and though we cannot but admire the writer, we cannot feel much, if indeed any sympathy with the man. This

is perhaps the best proof that M. Filon has performed his task in a manner which does credit to his judgment. His contribution to the history of French literature possesses more than passing interest. When it appears as a volume, it will be one which no student of the period between 1825 and 1870 can afford to neglect.—Another notable piece of work is the essay having for its title 'Les Romanciers du Sud en Amérique.' It is by the writer who signs 'Th. Bentzon,' and whose real name is Mme. Thérèse Blanc. The authors dealt with are Thomas Nelson Page and Grace King, of whose works Mme. Blanc gives a very able and appreciative sketch, illustrated with summaries and well chosen and well translated extracts. Two reviews are also deserving of notice. The first of them, by M. Charles de Mazade, deals with the memoirs of Count de Fallou; the other has for its subject M. Emile Michel's Life of Rembrandt.—In the mid-monthly number, M. Jusserand has an essay on Chaucer, of whose life and works he shows a knowledge and appreciation very noticeable in a foreigner who does not pretend to have made the subject his specialty.—'L'Essor extérieure de la France,' which heads the number dated May 1st, is a survey of the present position of France. The conclusion at which the writer, M. René Millet, arrives, is that France has still a great future before her, and that her endeavour should be to repair the errors of two centuries by remodelling her maritime destiny. His hope is in colonial expansion.—M. George Duruy, whose attention has for some time past been directed to the history of France at the close of last century, gives an interesting sketch of the sedition of the 1st of December, 1789, at Toulon.—An episode of the conquest of Mexico forms the subject of 'La Princesse Atzimba et le Capitaine Villadiégo.' It would have been well if the author had mentioned the authorities on which he bases his romantic account of the adventure and death of that companion of Cortes, whose sudden and mysterious disappearance furnished the Spanish language with a proverb: 'Tomar las de Villadiego.'—The mid-May number brings an abundance of most readable matter. Amongst the most interesting contributions to it may be mentioned M. Gaston Boissier's historical sketch of the Old Sorbonne, the institution founded by Robert de Sorbon, in the 13th century, for the purpose of enabling poor students to enjoy the benefits of a university education without being obliged to don the monk's cowl.—In 'Au Bagne,' M. Paul Mimande sketches the convict system as carried out in New Caledonia, and urges the necessity of making provision for the better colonization of the settlement, and for turning its mineral wealth to better use.—The lately-published memoirs of Chaptal supply M. de Vogüé with materials

for an excellent essay, of which his own appreciation of Napoleon is not the least noticeable feature.—In a political article, M. Charles Benoist examines the importance and bearing of the alliance between Germany and Italy.—The two numbers for June do not contain anything of very special interest, if we except the third instalment of M. Filon's 'Prosper Mérimeé.' The most notable thing is, perhaps, M. Fleury's sketch of the recent progress of aerial navigation.—M. Michel contributes a sketch of Constantine Huygens, a Dutch statesman of the 17th century.—M. Alfred Binet has a scientific paper dealing with the faculty of memory exhibited in a remarkable degree by certain persons, particularly by some noted chess-players.

REVUE SÉMITIQUE D'ÉPIGRAPHIE ET D'HISTOIRE ANCIENNE. (Nos. 1 and 2, 1893). The title of this new quarterly is of itself sufficient to attract the attention and excite the interest of a very considerable constituency—the large and constantly increasing number of scholars who devote themselves to Semitic, or rather Oriental, studies—the study of the history and literature of our intellectual ancestors in the cradle lands of the race. The name of the director or editor of this new *Revue* will also further commend it to their attention, and be a promissory guarantee of its value to them. The editor is M. Joseph Halévy, so long and so widely known as one of the foremost of our modern philologists, and one of the most erudite and laborious of our modern Orientalists. His name alone will be accepted as an assurance that the papers to be presented here will be of sterling value, the outcome of accurate and extensive scholarship, and of wide and scientific research. M. Halévy is himself by far and away the largest contributor to these two numbers, but those co-operating with him are too well known not to prove by themselves even an attraction to the magazine. The *Revue* opens its career, however, somewhat oddly. It introduces itself to its readers without one word of preface. It neither attempts to justify its appearance nor explain its aims and standpoint. The first article is placed under the rubric, 'Recherches Bibliques,' and bears the number 'xxvi.' Where the other and preceding twenty-five are to be found is not indicated, even in a foot-note. To those familiar with M. Halévy's literary labours, and whom he seems to have here chiefly in view, such a note was not, of course, needed. But in the first number of a new and independent venture such a mode of commencing looks strange and may hereafter be puzzling to a younger generation of students. Doubtless M. Halévy had good and, to him, sufficient reasons for adopting this course; and we merely note it without venturing

to find fault with it. The readers of *The Scottish Review* have been familiar with M. Halévy's 'Recherches Bibliques,' which appeared in the *Revue des Etudes Juives*, and with many other of his learned contributions to that periodical. We have had frequent opportunity of summarising their contents in these pages. Our readers know that he pursues in biblical and other studies a very independent course, which however he is able to justify, and does justify amply in every case. In the sciences of historical criticism, as applied to the Bible, he leans strongly to the conservative side. In his 'Recherches Bibliques,' he has frequently, and always ably, defended the unity and antiquity of biblical texts, which the Graf.-Wellhausen school have partitioned between this and that author or redactor, and have brought down to compaiatively late dates. The text here first submitted to examination is that extending from Genesis xi. 10, to xiii. 18,—a text which the critical school just mentioned is almost unanimous in regarding as composed of fragments, selected by the compiler from J. and E., but chiefly E. The appearance of unity and continuity, which the whole passage seems to have, they affirm to be superficial merely, and seeming, not real. M. Halévy contends that the unity *is* real, and the text, from first to last, is from the J. document. His proofs must be studied in their details. We can only here indicate the result to which he comes. These proofs cannot well however be overlooked by critics who have any pretence to be regarded as impartial. The second of his 'Recherches' here is entitled, 'Un Gouverneur de Jerusalem vers la fin du XVe Siècle.' It consists of an examination and summary of the five letters belonging to the Tel-el-Amarna collection, which were sent by the governor of Jerusalem, Arad-Hiba, to Amenophis IV. M. Halévy's object here is to show that these letters shed light on two hitherto obscure biblical problems. Mention is made in these letters of a town Zabub, and its locality is indicated. M. Halévy regards this town as that referred to in the term Baal-Zebub. Zebub, or Zabub, is the town over which that deity was feudal lord. No town of that name has hitherto been known, and the term has consequently been a perplexing one. It is now seen, our author thinks, to be of precisely the same significance as Baal-Zidon, Baal-Peor, etc. The particular Baal there indicated was the Baal or lord of Zebub, or Zabub. The other problem on which light is shed by these letters is as to the race to which the Habiri bandits belonged. The other two of M. Halévy's 'Recherches,' Nos. 28 and 29, deal with the first three chapters of Genesis. In them he sets himself to establish the unity of all these chapters, and to prove that they all belong to the J.

document. This will seem a startling undertaking to most readers at this hour. But M. Halévy does not hesitate to adventure it, and his arguments are not to be lightly set aside. He examines the text minutely in all its details, and gives very plausible (at least) explanations of the differences in style, terms and phraseology to which the critics of the historical school have attached such weight. The difference in the use of the Divine names is accounted for in a very ingenious way, and the relations between the narrative of the creation in Genesis and the Assyrian version are discussed in a very full and interesting manner. In both these numbers we have also the continuation of M. Halévy's transcriptions and translations of, and comments on, the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, which have been appearing in the *Revue des Etudes Juives*, and in the *Journal Asiatique*. Another of his contributions to this *Revue* has already received, and is still receiving considerable attention from Oriental scholars. It is that on the two Semitic inscriptions discovered by the agents of the Oriental Society of Berlin, who have been at work excavating in Northern Syria, at a place called Zindjirli. M. Halévy gives an admirable digest of the contents of these inscriptions, and furnishes a tentative translation of them, as they are mutilated and otherwise defective. Other important contributions too from his own pen on various subjects, and from the pens of M. Alfred Boissier, M. E. Drouin, and M. J. Perruchon, make these numbers extremely interesting and valuable to all engaged in the study of Eastern history and lore, and give promise of the *Revue's* meeting, because meriting, a very large measure of success, and exercising a wide and stimulating influence.

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (April, May, June).—The first of these three numbers gives the first place to a long article, entitled, 'Why do we resemble our Parents?' It is, in reality, a very abstruse physiological essay on the question of fecundation. It is altogether too technical to bear summarizing, but it may be indicated as well worthy of attention to those whose studies and researches lie in this direction. This contribution leaves room for only one other, and that a very short paper, in which the leading principles of the science of graphology are set forth.—The section headed 'Revue Générale' deals with a number of recent works on neo-Thomism and Scholasticism.—In May and June there are two instalments of a musico-psychological study. The first part deals with the evolution of musical aptitude and the second with the musical ear.—M. F. Houssay contributes a paper, headed 'Sociabilité et Moralité chez les Animaux.'—'The Theory of Heredity,' propounded by Weissman,

is examined by M. Y. Delage; and M. Charcot and M. Binet give a note concerning M. Diamandi, a 'ready reckoner,' whose method is 'visual,' and consequently different from M. Inaudi's, in whom it is auditive.

SWITZERLAND.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (April, May, June.)—In the first of these three numbers the general reader will find at least two articles to his taste. One of these, contributed by M. Edouard Lullin, sketches the progress of mountain railways, of which the number has increased so rapidly since the opening, a little more than twenty years ago, of that on the Rhigi. The other deals with lepers and leprosy, at the present time. It is chiefly based on the work published a couple of years ago, by Dr. Zambaco, who has made a special study of the disease, more particular in the East.—A paper entitled 'Confession religieuse et littéraire d'un égoïste' bears the well-known signature of M. Paul Stapfer, of whom it may be said that his bark is here worse than his bite. The selfishness for which he presents an apology, is of a very mild kind indeed, and may be described as an application of the German proverb which says that each one is his own nearest neighbour. The May number opens with a sketch of University extension in England and Scotland. It is particularly interesting for the tone of warm sympathy, indeed, it is scarcely an exaggeration to say of admiration, which pervades it.—In a very interesting and instructive paper, M. Van Muyden sets forth the whole process of printing a newspaper, from the setting to the folding. He also indicates the progress which the printing-press has undergone of late years, as well as the various attempts which have, not very successfully so far, been made to do without type altogether. —In 'Les Femmes Ecrivains,' M. Warnery reviews a work of the same title; or rather, he strings together a number of elegant extracts from what is itself an anthology.—In the June number M. Numa Droz considers the reasons which have been brought forward in support of modifying and reforming the mode of election to the Federal Council. His conclusion is that, although the present system may not be perfect, it works satisfactorily on the whole, and that it would therefore be unwise to introduce changes of which the bearing is not fully known, and which might not produce better practical results.—An article to which English readers will turn with special interest is that which M. Auguste Glardon devotes to Rudyard Kipling. It is excellently written, and whilst doing full justice to the popular writer, does

not pass over his defects. The summaries and quotations by means of which he illustrates his critical remarks are particularly apt, and altogether, the essay will give those readers for whom it is more particularly intended a fair and just idea of the author of 'Mine Own People' and 'Soldiers Three.'—The paper entitled 'Histoire d'un Fleuve,' gives, in most interesting and readable form, the substance of a remarkable book, that in which M. Lenthéric traces the history of the River Rhone, by which is to be understood not only the development of the river itself through the ages, but the part which it has played in historic times.—The present condition of Spanish literature is ably sketched by M. Rios, who writes with ability and competency, and who, by his frequent contributions, is doing excellent service in imparting information with regard to a subject as interesting as it is comparatively neglected outside the Peninsula.

SPAIN.

La Espana Moderña, *Revista Ibero-Americana* — April. — Lombroso continues his articles on Criminals. 'Judicial and Medical Applications of Criminal Anthropology,' dealing with the Probation System, and Reformatories. We learn that in the Concord Reformatory the first and second class prisoners are allowed to form 'Clubs,' and are stimulated to habits of sociability. But only to *criminaloids* can this be of permanent value. Enrique Ferri also enlarges on 'The Positivist Criminal School,' in contradistinction to the 'Classic School.' 'The Positivist School, . . . considered criminality as a natural phenomena, and, consequently, in place of the delinquency, studies the delinquent, adapting to this, above all, preventive precautions, and holding the delinquency committed as merely an indication of the mischievous potency of the executor.' In considering the influence of will he appeals to our own daily experience, how our will power is influenced in energy and character under the influence of special circumstances, whether physical, (as the atmospheric conditions), or physiological, (as digestion, nervous irritation, excitement, languor, muscular idleness or exercise), or psychical, (as the success or failure of our work, the constant sight of things pleasant or sad, love or hate); circumstances, all of which are in their commencement independent of us, and that through an illusion which we afterwards believe we control, whilst they really dominate us. How the will is strengthened by a little alcohol, and ultimately destroyed by excess even to criminality, is also noted as proof of the accidental criminality of criminaloids.—'The State and Social Reform,' by E. Sanz Escartin, is the notice of a

new work on a subject that Spain is hitherto innocent of. The reviewer observes that in a 'List of Books for Social Reformers,' and another English one of a similar character, amongst more than two thousand authors there is not a single Spaniard. Singular to say, the one under review is remarkable for its truly mystical tendency, 'the evangelical unction which it breathes, the want of confidence in man's effort, the persuasion that reform cannot be imposed, but must evolve on a great scale the religious sentiment.' Mysticism, it seems, is making many proselytes amongst great thinkers, according to Julio Puyol. Castelar's 'International Chronicle' is wholly devoted to a memoir of Jules Ferry. 'La Dolores'—drama by Sr. Feliú y Codina, is spoken of in the very highest terms.—(May—) In Lombroso's continuation we are told that, 'What is called liberty, is only, to us, ignorance or want of conscience of the multiple motives that cause us to act.' After which definition, and consequent denial of individual responsibility in all cases, we are assured it would be absurd to countenance the Penal Code in such claims of responsibility.—Ferri concludes his Neapolitan address by declaring: 'In the northern provinces of Italy will-power predominates; in the southern, genius: the day will soon come when we shall secure fraternity between will-power and genius, and see the fatherland realise its great destinies.'—The Cabots are the subject of a full chapter during this Centenary time.—'The International Chronicle' is not afraid of the socialists, although Castelar has little faith in them. He looks upon their 1st of May meetings as outlets for steam. Alexander II. he considers to have been the last German Czar. Alexander III. is a Slave. His medium stature, his hair slightly curled, his broad shoulders, his sharp eyes, his resolute manner denote the Slave, to whom physiologists have applied the term 'Red Arab.' He is believed to be actuated with the two capital ideas: to take Constantinople and to thrash Germany. Castelar has little faith in peace with the Russians and Austrians scheming on the Bulgarian frontier.—(June) —Lombroso gives the results of the congresses held anent prisons and prisoners, and the proposals published. He also mentions the principal journals devoted to the subject in the minor countries. 'The idea of justice in the Animal Kingdom,' by Adolfo Posada, is interesting and suggestive. The Biographical Sketch of Fernan-Caballero, the originator of the modern Spanish novel, is a valuable insight into the Spanish literary world. We would like to see more of such purely Spanish papers. . . . 'Fernan-Caballero is in our conception, and in that of many critics of renowned merit, the immediate link to Cervantes in the succession of Spanish novelists. No one has possessed to a similar extent the refined

observation, no one has transferred to paper with more truth and exactitude the fruit of their observations.' 'Literary Customs of the Present Time,' by E. Caro, are those of France, not Spain. Much about the Centenary will one day be historical, but to-day it is tiresome. Castelar answers the pertinent question, 'Why he writes so little of Spain on his "International Chronicle."' 'The Agricultural Crisis,' which is felt quite as much in Spain as here, has been treated in a work by Martinez y Gonzàlez. It is here criticised. The author considers that the origin and root of the depression is drawn from the modern idea of the State, and the fount of right in civil property is Society. Throughout the quarter Lubbock reigns, Tourgenneiff and Tolstoi represent Russia, Bourget, Sardou, etc., represent the tale-tellers of France. It is well selected, and well written on the whole.

HOLLAND.

THEOLOGISCH TIJDSCHRIFT (May).—Dr. W. H. Kosters, writing on a work on 'Micah,' prepared by a young Mr. Elhorst for his diploma, announces the opinion that the first three chapters of that prophecy, which are the kernel of the work, are by Micah of Morestha, and were written shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem. Chapters iv. and v., and chapters vi. and vii. are two additions made to that early work, but not till after the captivity.—J. van Hoon reviews Dr. Völter's recent work on the Ignatian Epistles, and while not able to agree with that writer in connecting them with Peregrinus Proteus, agrees with him in dating them late in the second century, and seeing in them a developed High Church theory quite out of keeping with genuine Ignatian authorship. Zahn and Lightfoot have caused a reaction in favour of an early date of the epistles, but the reaction can only be temporary, and the views of Baur and Hilgenfeld, put aside in the meantime, will come forward again to hold the field.—In the May number, Professor Van Manen begins a discussion of the newly discovered Gospel of Peter, which he continues in the July number, and the conclusion of which is still to appear. His remarks on the text are often valuable; in discussing the points of the narrative in the new fragment, he proceeds on the assumption that the Synoptic tradition is legendary, and arrives at the result that Peter preserves in several instances an earlier form of the legend than the Synoptics. Specially is this the case in the important matter of the day of the Passion. Peter almost certainly makes Thursday the day of the Crucifixion, and all the expressions about the Lord having been

buried three days and three nights and having risen again on the third day, make for this form of the tradition.—There is a good paper by Dr. Kosters on the stories about the ark in Samuel; he maintains that these stories are not, as they stand, consistent or credible; and that the original story must have been that the ark was reconquered from the Philistines by David.—Dr. Ivan den Bergh notices the second edition of that remarkable book, 'Das Selbstbewusstseyn Jesu,' by Baldensperger, and discusses in a very reasonable and able way the problem whether Jesus reached the conviction of his Messiahship, through processes of reasoning or by a direct religious intuition.

DENMARK.

YEAR-BOOK FOR NORTHERN ARCHÆOLOGY AND ANTIQUITIES (1893. Vol. VIII., Part I.) contains three articles. The first, by Prof. Jul. Lange, treats of 'The Plastic Ornamentation on the Tombs of Christopher II., Valdemar Atterdag, and Margaret.' The reliefs on the end of Christopher's tomb Prof. Lange believes to represent the stories of Samson, Absalom, and Aristotle's love-experiences. The greater part of the article relates to Margaret's tomb in Roskilde Cathedral, and contains some good hints on the style of mediæval tombs, and some sensible remarks on modern attempts to restore them. There are also twelve cuts of reliefs from the tomb itself.—In the second article Dr. Bruun (of the Royal Library) investigates the history of Berengaria of Portugal, Queen of Valdemar II., first showing the little that can be learned from historic sources, and then the apparent groundlessness of the bad repute that Queen 'Bengerd' has acquired in Danish legend. The historic enquiry is very carefully carried out, and a very fair case established for the Queen's reputation, but the scanty materials present great difficulties.—The third article, by Sören Hansen, is a short enquiry into the 'Bronze-Age Race in Denmark,' from an examination of the skeletons that have been found belonging to that period. The most interesting result is that these remains seem to show a kind of 'aristocratic' development of bodily physique, particularly noticeable in the small hands which must be postulated for the short sword-hilts, while the skeletons show a good average stature.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

Theosophy or Psychological Religion. The Gifford Lecture delivered before the University of Glasgow in 1892. By F. MAX MÜLLER, K.M., etc. London and New York: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1893.

With the lectures in this volume Professor Max Müller concludes his prelections as Gifford Lecturer in the University of Glasgow. He has had the privilege of holding the office for two terms, and during his period of office has said many notable things, some of them not at all to the taste of his hearers, and to which many have taken very serious objection. Happily, however, this is a free country and there is no penalty annexed to free speech save such as may be said to naturally spring from it. What is denounced may afterwards turn out to be true, and what is received may be found to be wrong. What is true lives, and what is false, even though it die hard, dies at last. When its time comes nothing can save it. How many of the professor's speculations on the subject he has chosen will live or how many of them will pass and be forgotten or ignored, it is not for us to say. All along he has been dealing with a large and intricate subject, and throughout he has had the courage of his convictions, showing always in their expression a sort of splendid boldness. Here he has employed the old term 'Theosophy,' not because his lectures have anything to do with the occult sciences or black arts, but because he wishes to restore the term to its proper function, and to remind us that it was once used to describe the highest knowledge of the Divine Being attained or attainable by the human mind. And this it is that forms the subject of the present series of his lectures. Natural, Physical, Anthropological Religion—these have been the subjects of the preceding courses: now we have Theosophy or Psychological Religion, and the aim has been to show that what in the first series ' was put forward as a preliminary definition of religion in its widest sense namely, the Perception of the Infinite, can be shown by historical evidence to have been the one element shared in common by all religions.' Like all other conceptions, that of the Infinite has had to pass through many phases in its historical development. The historical evolution of the concept of the objective Infinite was traced in the lectures on Physical Religion, and that of the concept of the subjective Infinite in the lectures on Anthropological Religion. The present course has been reserved ' for the study of the discovery of the oneness of the objective God and the subjective Soul which forms the final consummation of all religion.' Though all the lectures in this course are valuable, the last four are especially so. They contain the key, as their author tells us, to the whole series, and formed from the very beginning his final aim. Their subjects are the doctrine of the Logos, Alexandrian Christianity, Dionysius the Areopagite and Christian Theosophy, and while the aim of the lecturer is 'to show that from a purely historical point of view Christianity is not a recent continuation or even reform of Judaism, but that particularly in its theology or theosophy it represents a synthesis of Semitic and Aryan thought which form its real strength and its power of satisfying not only the requirements of the heart, but likewise the postulates of reason.' From his own standpoint, the purely historical, there can be little doubt that the author is right. That he is right from another, or that his theory is altogether sufficient, we will not say. But this may be said, his doctrine is an excellent contrast to that which has been advanced by some writers, such for instance

as M. Havet, to whom Christianity was no synthesis at all, but a product pure and simple of the Hellenic mind. Professor Max Müller may be congratulated on the completion of his labours. He has treated a comparatively new line of thought and research with great skill and probably unrivalled scholarship. If his lectures have awakened much opposition, it is probably only what was to have been expected. Some of the theories he has advanced may, and probably will, turn out untenable. Nevertheless, on the lines he has chosen to follow, the four volumes, of which the one before us is the last, are, as far as known to us, unrivalled in their treatment of what must always be a subject of the profoundest interest.

The Akhmîm Fragment of the Apocryphal Gospel of St. Peter. Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Indices, by H. B. SWETE, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. London & New York: Macmillan & Co. 1893.

This recently discovered fragment of New Testament apocryphal literature has already attracted a considerable amount of attention, and notwithstanding the shortness of the period which has elapsed since it was unexpectedly lighted upon in one of the graves of Christian Panopotis, by the members of the French Archæological Mission in Egypt, a fair number of books have been written about it. Dr. Swete issued a tentatively corrected text of the fragment at the end of November last, soon after the appearance of M. Bouriant's *editio princeps*. With the aid of the heliographic reproduction of the MS., which was recently published by M. Leroux of Paris, he has now thoroughly revised the text, and has added to it an elaborate introduction, numerous textual and other notes, a translation, and two useful indices. To the student the volume will prove extremely acceptable. The introduction contains all that an introduction of the kind should contain. Within the compass of some forty-five pages Dr. Swete discusses the various questions connected with the origin, character, and history of the Petrine gospel, and the contents of the fragment are compared and contrasted with the parallel passages in the canonical gospels. The date of the gospel is fixed about the year 170 A.D., and Western Syria is assigned as the place of its origin. Judging by the Akhmîm fragment, Dr. Swete is of opinion that the Petrine gospel was 'a free harmony of the canonical gospels, rather than an attempt to rewrite the history.' The fact that not a single *agraphon* occurs in the fragment, he explains by saying: 'This circumstance may indeed be due to the writer's purpose of representing the Lord as silent during Passion. But the manner in which he has handled his facts suggests another explanation. He is unwilling to go beyond the lines of the canonical narrative. He is prepared to sift, transpose, and reset his materials, but not to invent important sayings for which there is no authority in the canonical tradition.' 'This cautious conservatism,' he very justly continues, and by so doing indicates in some degree the value of the fragment, 'differentiates the Gospel of Peter from the Gospel according to the Egyptians, and the Gospel of the Hebrews, which, so far as we know them, were largely independent on the canons.' The notes are textual and expository, and will be found of great assistance. So far this is unquestionably the standard work on a very interesting piece of Christian apocryphal literature.

A Short Proof that Greek was the Language of Christ. By PROFESSOR ROBERTS, D.D. Paisley & London: Alex. Gardner. 1893.

One cannot but admire the patience and perseverance with which Professor Roberts continues to advocate, and keep under public attention, his proposition that Christ usually in his teaching spoke Greek. He betrays all the zeal of an apostle in his determination to get his contention accepted. When he promulgated his discovery first, some sixteen years ago, he stated his proof very fully, and challenged criticism. To many his contention was something of a novelty, but his advocacy was so convincing that not a few conceded his point at once. Others demurred, and some of these entered the lists against him. Professor W. Sanday was perhaps one of the ablest of his opponents. But our author was able to meet Dr. Sanday with as complete a suit of armour, offensive and defensive, on this point as he brought into the field. The controversy has proved like most of its kind. Neither of the combatants confesses himself defeated. Professor Roberts claims the victory. And now here he appeals from the learned few to the intelligent many. And he chooses his ground accordingly. He selects the one proof which he thinks will be readily understood and appreciated by every ordinary reader, and which is really after all the surest and best. What is the testimony of the Gospels themselves? They bear witness to the fact that Jesus frequently appealed to the *written* Scriptures in His teaching, and appealed to them as being in their possession and familiar to them. It is admitted on all hands, however, that at that time Hebrew was not 'understanded of the people.' The Hebrew text when read in the Synagogues had to be translated into the dialects familiar to the worshippers as the reading went on. There is no evidence whatever that there existed then a version of the Bible, or of any part of it, in the Aramaic. A version of it in Greek did exist. The cost of reproducing it was such as to bring it within the reach of a poor man's purse, while a copy in Hebrew cost an immense sum. The quotations from the Scriptures in our New Testament books are clearly seen to have been taken from the Greek version, and not from the Hebrew. The language of the New Testament writers betrays their familiarity with the Greek version, and shows how thoroughly they had been dependent on that version from their earliest years. Professor Roberts makes all this clear to the simplest mind here, and his little work is admirably suited for the audience he addresses through it. The importance of his contention it is hardly possible to over-rate. His book should be welcomed everywhere, and cannot fail to be read with pleasure and profit by everyone. It is quite a masterly production for brevity, orderly arrangement, and fulness.

The Principles of Ethics. By HERBERT SPENCER. Vol. II. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1893.

The first part of this volume—a volume which but a short time ago the author almost despaired of being able to write, and on the appearance of which both he and the public may be congratulated—was issued separately a couple of years ago under the title of *Justice*. The remaining parts are new, and treat of Beneficence, Negative and Positive. Mr. Spencer is not altogether satisfied with the results to which his investigations have led him in this department, and taking the reader into his confidence, he confesses with the utmost candour, that though the work he once despaired of doing is complete, his 'satisfaction is somewhat dashed by the thought that these new parts fall short of expectation.' 'The Doctrine of Evolution,' he continues, 'has not furnished guidance to the extent I had hoped. Most of the conclusions, drawn empirically, are such as right feelings, enlightened by cultivated intelligence, have already sufficed to establish. Beyond certain general sanctions indirectly referred to in verification, there are

here and there, and more especially in the closing chapters, conclusions evolutionary in origin that are additional to, or different from, those which are current.' What conclusions he has arrived at, however, and his whole treatment of the subject are highly instructive. The foundation for the discussion of Beneficence was laid in the division dealing with Justice. There the conclusions obtained were in large degree definite. The discussions turned upon certain right relations between individuals, irrespective of natures or circumstances. 'But,' as Mr. Spencer remarks, 'when, leaving this all-important division, the injunctions of which, as forming the basis of harmonious social co-operation, are peremptory, and take no cognisance of personal elements, we pass into the remaining divisions—Negative and Positive Beneficence—we enter a region in which the complexities of private conduct are involved with the complexities of relation to the no less complex conduct of those around : presenting problems for the solution of which we have nothing in the nature of measure to guide us. The factors are many and variable. There are the immediate effects which actions produce upon benefactor and beneficiary : and there are the remote effects produced on them. There are the immediate and remote effects produced on the dependents of both. And there are the immediate and remote effects produced on society. No one of these is fixed or measurable : and hence the conclusions empirically drawn can be but approximations to the truth.' That is true, but as here set forth, the vista they open up of the effects of human conduct is immense, and though rarely considered, is deserving of the most careful study.—The second part of the volume, or the one treating of Negative Beneficence, opens with a chapter on the different kinds of Altruism. Here, after pointing out, with modern and striking examples, the part which discrimination plays in conduct, Mr. Spencer distinguishes between 'The primary altruism we call justice, and the secondary altruism we call beneficence,' and insists upon the necessity for the discrimination. This he does in a number of paragraphs of great significance and present importance. Here, for instance, is one which, though somewhat long deserves to be quoted for its immediate bearing upon the present. 'Throughout the past,' he observes, 'there has slowly been growing into clearness the distinction between these two primary divisions of altruism. But though justice and generosity have in recent days come to be fairly well discriminated, the changes now going on are confusing them again. The universal dissolution by which the old order of things is being abolished while a new order is being established, is bringing with it a dissolution of old conceptions, many of them wrong but some of them right. Among the last is this distinction between justice and beneficence. On the one side the many, eagerly expecting good, and on the other side the few, anxious to do good to them, agree in practically disregarding the line of demarcation between things which are to be claimed as rights and things which are to be accepted as benefactions ; and while the division between the two is being obliterated, there is ceasing to be any separation made between means appropriate to the one and means appropriate to the other. Hot-headed philanthropy, impatient of criticism, is by helter-skelter legislation, destroying connections between conduct and consequences ; so that presently, when the replacing of justice by generosity has led to a redistribution of benefits irrespective of deserts, there will be reached a state having for its motto the words—'It should be as well for you to be inferior as to be superior.' As already indicated, the different kinds of beneficence are arranged under the two heads, Negative and Positive. Under the first comes that species of beneficent conduct which is characterised by passivity in deed or word, at times when egoistic

advantage or pleasure might be gained by action ; also many forms of self-restraint not commonly regarded as ethically enjoined. Positive Beneficence on the other hand includes all actions which imply the sacrifice of something actually or potentially possessed, that another or others may be benefitted. Hence in the first of these two parts we have chapters dealing with Restraints on Free Competition, on Free Contract, on Undeserved Payments, on Displays of Ability, on Blame, and on Praise ; while in the second the topics dealt with are Marital, Parental and Filial Beneficence Aid to the Sick and Injured, Succour to the Ill-used and Endangered, Relief to the Poor, Aid to Friends and Relatives, Social and Political Beneficence, and Beneficence in general. Here it is of course impossible to do more than enumerate the above, and to direct the reader's attention to them. Like its predecessor, this volume while philosophical in the highest sense, addresses itself to the very widest circle of readers. Reformers, as well political as social, will find in it much to employ their thoughts, while those who have no pretensions to be reformers, either political or social, will find much that is at once informing and helpful in daily life.

Evolution and Man's Place in Nature. By Henry Calderwood, LL.D., F.R.S.E., Professor of Moral Philosophy, University of Edinburgh. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1893.

So much has been written and said in connection with the problem of man's place in nature as affected by the doctrine or theory of evolution, that it is scarcely possible, important as the problem is, for anything new to be said about it, at least in the present generation. Professor Calderwood proceeds from the standpoint of the evolution of organic life as maintained by Mr. Darwin and Mr. Alfred Russel Wallace, and his main object is 'to trace the evidence of man's relations to the continuity of life on the earth, and to describe the distinctive characteristics of human life itself.' Much familiar ground is of necessity gone over ; but familiar as it is, Professor Calderwood's pages are by no means wearisome or wanting in interest. The results arrived at by Darwin and other evolutionists are briefly stated, and the various questions involved in the problem under discussion are clearly discriminated. The inadequacy of the Evolution theory to give a sufficient account of man, or even for the appearance of organic life upon the earth is insisted upon, and a strong case is made out for wider and deeper research into the workings of nature, and for larger generalisations in respect to its laws. The results at which he has arrived are stated by Professor Calderwood, as follows : 'Research, extended over the wide field of biology, has accumulated a large body of evidence demonstrating the impossibility of tracing the origin of man's rational life to evolution from a lower life. There are no physical forces discoverable in Nature sufficient to account for the appearance of this life. The insufficiency of the evidence for its evolution becomes increasingly obvious, as the demands are more really ascertained. Animal intelligence shows no effective preparations for rational intelligence. All the best examples of intelligence among the animals present results of human training. These results testify to relations historically later than those upon which a theory of evolution can rely. Nor can the characteristics of rational life be explained by any possible advance in the structure of nerves and brain. Neither continuance, nor repetition, nor recollection of sensory impressions made upon us, can explain the reflective exercise known in consciousness.' From this negative position, and from the position that 'Evolution of the higher from the lower—the material from the physical

—is impossible,' Professor Calderwood advances to the affirmative, that 'there is a power operating continually in Nature, which does not come within range of the observation possible to scientific modes and appliance, yet to which science is ever indirectly bearing witness.' This power, he goes on to observe, 'has manifested itself at the most impressive periods in the world's history, first at the appearance of organic life, again on the appearance of mind, and again on the advent of rational life.' To the existence of this power all nature testifies. Its dominion is expressed both in each single law of nature, 'and in the entire system of things as constituted at any given period in history and in the appearance of new orders of existence, adding to the complexity of the system as a whole.' Further, this power is no *Deus ex machina.* The true conception of it can be found only in the representations of a God immanent in Nature—immanent yet transcendent—transcendent yet immanent, and related to the spiritual life of rational souls, as He can be related to no other type of existence within the sphere of creation. It will thus be seen that issue is here joined with some of the foremost scientific writers of the times. The arguments used are put in the most forcible way, and the work can scarcely fail to be regarded as an excellent contribution to the great subject with which it deals.

Science and a Future Life, with other Essays. By FREDERIC W. H. MYERS. London & New York: Macmillan & Co. 1893.

The essays which Mr. Myers, the indefatigable and accomplished Secretary of the Society for Psychical Research, has here put together, are in all six. Notwithstanding their apparently diverse character, there is a certain unity of purpose running through them, which the author has emphasised by placing the essay in which it is most distinctly expressed at the beginning of the series. That purpose, as it is perhaps scarcely necessary to remark, is to call attention to the belief in a future life and to the evidence which the investigations recently begun in psychical phenomena afford as to the survival of men after death. At the same time, the author's aim is to encourage the observation and more complete scientific study of psychical phenomena, with a view to the discovery of other and more complete evidence. The time when such phenomena as Mr. Myers here deals with could be ridiculed or set aside as worthless, is now passed. They have come to be matter of serious study, and are deserving at least of respectful attention. Ultimately they may be proved entirely subjective, or they may not. But, however that may turn out, they deserve collecting, and examining, and if by any means they can be made to throw light upon this most tremendous of all questions, the world will certainly be the gainer. Mr. Myers is persuaded in his own mind that they do, but he is far from asking that others, at least on the grounds of the present evidence furnished by psychical research, should adopt his opinions. All the same he has made out a good case for inquiry. As he puts it, the question for discussion is :—'Is there, or is there not, evidence in the actual observed phenomena of automatism, apparitions, and the like, for a transcendental energy in living men, or for an influence emanating from personalities which have overpassed the tomb?' That men do 'overpass the tomb' Mr. Myers of course believes. But the question is as to the evidence that they do, and particularly whether any of that evidence is supplied by the phenomena furnished, by what is known as psychical research. It may be, as Mr. Myers hints, that we are on the eve of new and epoch-making discoveries; but whether we are or not, no

one can read his exceedingly temperate plea for the scientific study of the phenomena in question without being touched with his enthusiasm, or feeling the gravity of the problem whose solution he has in view. The remaining essays are on 'Charles Darwin and Agnosticism,' 'The Disenchantment of France,' 'Tennyson as a Prophet,' 'Modern Poets and Cosmic Law,' and 'Leopold, Duke of Albany.' The work of an able thinker and scholarly writer, they are all worthy of attentive perusal, and will amply repay it.

History of Federal Government in Greece and Italy. By EDWARD A. FREEMAN. Edited by J. B. BURY, M.A. Second Edition. London & New York: Macmillan & Co. 1893.

Under a somewhat altered title, we have here, with additions, a new edition of the first volume of the late Mr. Freeman's projected work on the History of Federal Government. That work, as is well known, was never completed, Mr. Freeman turning aside soon after the appearance of its first volume to devote himself to the History of the Norman Conquest, and afterwards to the History of Sicily. Originally, the work was intended to deal with the History of Federal Government from the foundation of the Achaian League down to the outbreak of the great Civil War in America. The volume published, however, besides the general introduction to the subject, contained a complete history of Federal Government in Greece, and may therefore be regarded as a complete work in itself. The discovery among the author's papers of a chapter dealing with Federation in Ancient Italy, and intended to form the first chapter of a second volume, has enabled the editor to adopt a more extended title than a simple reprint of the original volume would have allowed. The addition of this chapter not only justifies the title chosen for the volume, but gives to this new edition a value of its own. This is further increased by the addition of a considerable fragment on the German Confederacy, and also by the corrections and notes of the editor. In the chapter on Federation in Italy, Mr. Freeman deals with the Leagues of Etruria, Samnium and Latium, and the first and second Lombard Leagues. The attempt by the Italian allies to found a Federation with its capital at Italicum in opposition to the governing power of Rome is also dealt with, while at the end of the chapter Mr. Freeman has some scathing remarks on the 'Sham Federation' favoured for Italy in more recent times by Napoleon III. The fragment on German Federalism will be read with interest by those who are acquainted with Mr. Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*, a work to which Mr. Freeman refers as one 'in which the whole subject of the History of the Roman Empire has been treated with wonderful power and clearness.' Mr. Bury's notes are a very acceptable and valuable addition. In these their author brings the work down to the present day, making use of the discoveries which have been made in Greek history since the work was first issued. Many of the notes refer to the divergent views of other writers. On one important point, the Constitution of the Senates in the Achaian and Ætolian Federal systems, Mr. Bury has been able, with the aid of an inscription unknown to Mr. Freeman, to set him right. There is now direct evidence that the Ætolian Senate consisted of representatives chosen by the States. There is no such direct evidence for the Achaian Senate, but there are indications pointing in that direction, and the analogy of the Ætolian League confirms them. On the other hand, as Mr. Bury remarks, 'there is not an atom of evidence for Mr. Freeman's guess that the Achaian Boule was chosen by the Federal Assembly.'

Life of St. Edmund of Canterbury, from Original Sources. By WILFRID WALLACE, D.D, M.A., LL.B., O.S.B. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 1893.

Modern English Lives of St. Edmund are not numerous. Beyond the brief summaries in Butler's *Lives* and Bishop Challoner's *Britannia Sancta*, the sketch of him by Dean Hook, not always accurate, and the Life in the *Lives of English Saints*, published by the Tractarians in 1845, we are unable to recall any. There are one or two accounts of him in Modern French, one in Italian dating back to the year 1687, while further back, in the Old English Metrical Lives of the Saints, some three or four may be found. A good modern Life of this famous and much tried Canterbury Saint cannot therefore be said to come amiss. The materials for one are not wanting, and in the hands of a capable and painstaking scholar, like Dr. Wallace, may be expected to be turned to good account. Of original Lives of the Saint, written apparently in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and by men who were more or less connected with him, there appear to have been at least four. One of them was written by Robert Rich, the Saint's younger brother; another by Robert Bacon, his fellow-student and intimate friend; another by Bertrand, the Saint's chamberlain; and another by Eustace, a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, and chaplain to the Saint. A fifth may probably have existed, but it cannot now be found, and the only reason for supposing it to have existed, is a story which may possibly have been found in the Life by Matthew Paris. Matthew's Life might also be called original, but on his own showing, he received his information at second hand. His informant, however, was no less an individual than Richard, St. Edmund's chancellor. All these Dr. Wallace has carefully examined and discriminated. Some of the results he has arrived at in respect to them are different from those which commended themselves to Sir R. Duffus Hardy, and recorded by him in the third volume of his *Descriptive Catalogue*. For instance, the Life contained in the Cotton MS., Jul. D. VI., ff. 123-157, was, according to Hardy, written by the Saint's brother, Robert Rich; but according to Dr. Wallace, 'he (the author of the *Catalogue*) cannot have read the first page of the manuscript; for, if he had, he would have there found this same Robert described in the most laudatory terms, as one "whom God exalted, like Edmund, in consequence of his distinguished merits; who was renowned for his eminent sanctity, his amiable disposition and his profound learning."' 'It is quite incredible,' as Dr. Wallace very fairly remarks, 'that Robert should have spoken of himself in these terms.' 'Again,' he continues, 'in another passage, the author, after mentioning Edmund's two brothers, Robert and Nicholas, speaks of a third brother whose name he does not seem to know, for he styles him "a certain brother." It is not likely that Robert, if he had been the author, would have failed to mention the brother's name.' The Life of Bertrand was printed by Martene in his Thesaurus. The text of the other three are here printed by Dr. Wallace for the first time. Among other sources for the Life of the Saint are the Chronicles of Osney, Waverley and Lanercost, the works of Gervase of Canterbury, edited by Bishop Stubbs for the Rolls Series, the letters of Grosseteste, of St. Edmund himself, and the collection edited under the title of Royal Letters, Henry III. Of the materials furnished by these and other sources, Dr. Wallace, who, as need hardly be said, writes from a Catholic point of view, has made ample and good use. The Life which he has more particularly followed is the one which he has assigned for its authorship to Eustace, the Saint's chamberlain, and a monk of Christ Church, as being the most complete we have. Like most other

Mediæval Saint's Lives, it is for the most part a collection of anecdotes, arranged without regard to chronological order, and intended to illustrate the Saint's virtues. Dates are as usual conspicuous by their absence, and there is the utmost difficulty in assigning the exact date even to the Saint's birth and death. Dr. Wallace has endeavoured to fix these, and those of the various incidents in his life, and generally with success. His narrative is clear and interesting, and shows an intimate knowledge of the times. The stories about the Saint are told in their native simplicity, and there is little or no attempt to 'improve' them. This is as it should be. The one fault we have to find with Butler is, that he overlays the old stories with his own reflections. Dr. Wallace leaves them for the most part to make their own impression. Whether they are credible is a question on which we do not care to enter. They at least show what were the mental and religious habits of the times, and as M. Fustel de Coulanges has pointed out, are often extremely valuable for other reasons. As a piece of hagiological writing, Dr. Wallace's volume deserves to be highly commended. It is able and scholarly; it bears ample evidence of conscientious research and accuracy of judgment, and is written throughout in a temperate, reverent and enlightened spirit. The appendices call for special mention as containing a large mass of material, some of it not before printed.

Annals of My Life, 1847—1856. By CHARLES WORDSWORTH, D.D., D.C.L., Bishop of St. Andrews, etc. Edited by W. EARL HODGSON. London and New York: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1893.

Since the first volume of these Annals was published, their venerable author has passed away. The work of editing the present volume has fallen into the able hands of Mr. Earl Hodgson, who has discharged his duties with careful fidelity. Comparatively speaking, however, these duties, beyond seeing the work through the press, appear to have been light. According to a note at the beginning of the volume, this second part of the Bishop's Annals was completed not many weeks before his death on the 5th of December last. As for the third and concluding volume, it has still to be written, and the materials for it are in the hands of the Bishop of Salisbury. Bishop Wordsworth's life divided itself into three periods; the Oxford and Winchester period, the Glenalmond period, and the period of St. Andrews. The first of these is dealt with in the *Annals of my Early Life*, while the present volume deals with the second, or Glenalmond period. Not the least attractive part of it is the preface, where the venerable author has a good deal to say in respect to the reviewers of his first volume. Among other things he defends himself against the charge of being 'very severe' on the late Cardinal Newman. In reply to an objection taken against his Postscript on the Oxford movement he tells us that his judgment on that event has been confirmed by no less an authority than Mr. Gladstone, who, in a letter acknowledging the receipt of the *Annals*, writes to him, saying, 'The passages in which you have minutely tracked the movement of Newman's opinions are, I think, not only interesting, but of great historical value.' As might be expected, a large part of the volume is taken up with the attempts to re-establish, or at least to popularise Episcopalianism in Scotland. With this, of course, the author had a great deal to do. His account of the difficulties he had to contend with, and of the success attending his own efforts and those of others is of importance in the ecclesiastical annals of the country. These difficulties originated not only among Presbyterians, but also among Episcopalians. On the one hand there were the schismatics to win over, and on the other

there were the fears of those who were living in dread of Puseyism to abate. The subordinate clergy also were not always over judicious. Then there was the question of the Liturgies. The first Warden of Glenalmond seems to have acted throughout with circumspection and Christian prudence. His elevation to the Episcopal Chair probably did more to consolidate Episcopalianism in Scotland than anything else. The early history of Trinity College, Glenalmond, is minutely treated, and much interesting information is given about it. That it owes much to its first Warden cannot be doubted. If he was a rigid disciplinarian, he was by no means ungenial, but seems to have won the hearty affections of his pupils. Everything he did was calmly and carefully thought out. Scriptural precedents and reasons founded on Scripture commended themselves most to his mind, and it is not a little amusing to be told he preferred the rod to the time-honoured tawse as an instrument for castigating the naughty, because there was Scriptural authority for it. Much is said in the volume respecting the present Prime Minister, which at the present moment will be read with interest. The Bishop's friendship with him was life-long, but he was one of the first to fall from him because of his political actions.

Ernest Renan: In Memoriam. By the Right Honourable Sir MOUNTSTUART E. GRANT DUFF, G.C.S.I., F.R.S. London & New York: Macmillan & Co. 1893.

Memoirs of Renan have been numerous. Most of them, however, have been more or less polemical. Occupying the position he did, it could scarcely be otherwise. During the present century few men have occupied a position so prominent, or said so many things, whether true or untrue, which the century did not wish to hear, or took offence at their being said in its hearing. Sir Grant Duff was not an opponent of the author of the *Origins of Christianity*. For a number of years he shared his friendship. All the same he is not concerned either to approve or to criticise all or a great deal of what he said. His aim in the volume before us, while sympathetic, is not polemic. If anything it is expository. Questions of criticism are avoided, much in the same way as Renan himself avoided them. At the same time, now and again a difference of opinion is expressed, and that too in the plainest terms. Along with the exposition, we have here and there interesting pieces of narrative, giving a somewhat vivid insight into Renan's character and mode of life. The main aim, however, is exposition. As to the manner in which the exposition is done there can be no two opinions. Each of the great heresiarch's volumes and principal essays is taken up in its chronological order, its aim and central idea expounded, and frequently illustrated with long extracts. The comments are for the most part sympathetic, though on the many points of scholarship which arise Sir Grant Duff is silent. When he does venture to say anything in defence of Renan, it is usually on one of those broad principles on which most people of education and enlightenment are more or less agreed. By those who have no liking for Renan and his writings, the volume before us, as its author frankly admits, is one to be avoided. On the other hand, for those who wish to obtain information as to what Renan really taught and thought, next to his own writings we know of no volume in which it can so easily or pleasantly be obtained. The work is written with about as little bias as such a book can be written by the hand of one who enjoyed the personal friendship of its subject for over thirty years, and to those who are not afraid or unwilling to come in contact with its ideas, it will repay perusal.

The Poetical Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Edited with a Biographical Introduction by JAMES DYKES CAMPBELL. London & New York: Macmillan & Co. 1893.

This volume is uniform in appearance with the one-volume editions of the poetical works of Tennyson, Wordsworth, and Matthew Arnold, which have recently been issued by the Messrs. Macmillan & Co. It is handsomely printed, in clear and brilliant type, on thin but thoroughly opaque paper, and has been remarkably well edited. Mr. Dykes Campbell, in fact, may lay claim to having produced the best edition of the author's poetical works which has yet seen the light. As compared with previous editions it is more complete, and has the advantage also of having the various pieces arranged, as far as possible, in their chronological order. In the 1834 and subsequent editions, this order was departed from. Mr. Campbell has shewn a wise discretion in returning to it. It is the one which was approved by the poet himself, and to the student is decidedly more acceptable. As his standard text, Mr. Campbell has adopted that of the three volume edition of 1829, the last from the poet's hand. To the contents of these volumes, however, he has added the poems which were dropped from the various collections issued by Coleridge himself, those hitherto added by his editors from whatever source, other printed pieces which have escaped their notice, and a considerable number of poems and fragments hitherto unprinted, and for permission to print which he has been indebted to the poet's grandson and representative, Mr. Ernest Hartley Coleridge. One noticeable feature in the volume is its appendices. In these are printed the original versions of several poems which underwent considerable alteration before taking their place in the final edition. Among these not the least interesting is 'The Rime of the Ancient Mariner,' as it first appeared in the famous *Lyrical Ballads* in 1798. The changes made upon it in the second or 1800 edition are shewn in the foot-notes which accompany it. The full text of 'Osorio,' the first draft of 'Remorse' is also given, and as well the full text of the Greek ode with which Coleridge gained the Bronze Medal at Cambridge in 1792, and the text of the 'Hymn before Sunrise in the Vale of Chamounie,' as sent to the Beaumonts in October, 1803. In the introduction, Mr. Campbell has confined himself to giving as full a narrative of the poet's life as his limits would allow. Here as well as elsewhere in the volume he has had the assistance of Mr. E. H. Coleridge, who is himself preparing a life of his grandfather, and has placed at the disposal of Mr. Campbell much new and interesting information respecting the poet. Of this Mr. Campbell has made ample and skilful use, and until the biography on which Mr. E. H. Coleridge is engaged appears, his introduction will be regarded as the standard. For the convenience or inconvenience of the reader, at any rate not to interrupt the perusal of the poems, the notes have been placed at the end of the volume. The reader who takes the trouble to refer to them will soon find out their worth. They have been compiled with care, and contain much for which the reader will be grateful.

The Works of William Shakespeare. Edited by WILLIAM ALDIS WRIGHT. Vol. IX. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1893.

With this volume the new edition of the Cambridge Shakespeare which has been appearing under the editorship of Mr. Aldis Wright is concluded. It opens with the preface to the original edition, to which the present editor has added a number of new and valuable notes, chiefly in the way

of correcting mistakes, though these are not numerous, and of noting various discoveries since 1866, such, for instance, as the discovery in 1867 of a copy of 'Venus and Adonis,' printed in 1599, and a copy of what is probably a third edition with the date 1602. The list of editions collated and of works consulted has been brought down to the present year. After the preface to the original edition comes a brief preface from Mr. Aldis Wright, in which he points out that the present issue is really a new edition and not merely a reprint of the first. 'The pages of copy sent to the printers,' he remarks, 'would shew that the additions and corrections amount to many thousands, and that scarcely a page is free from them. A comparison of the notes in some crucial passages, as for instance The Tempest, iii. 1. 15, All's Well, iv. 1. 38, and Hamlet, i. 4. 36-38, with the corresponding notes in the first edition, will alone furnish sufficient evidence of this.' The first of the texts given is that of the doubtful Pericles, as to which the original editors say: 'There can be no doubt that the hand of Shakespeare is traceable in many of the scenes, and that throughout the play he largely re-touched, and even re-wrote, the work of some inferior dramatist. But the text has come down to us in so maimed and imperfect a state that we can no more judge of what the play was when it left the master's hand than we should have been able to judge of Romeo and Juliet, if we had only had the first Quarto as authority for the text.' Next to Pericles come the Poems. In the editing of Venus and Adonis, two newly discovered editions have been used, and one in the editing of Lucrece. The readings furnished by these have been incorporated in the notes. In this volume we have also the reprints of the early quartos, which in the original edition followed the plays to which they respectively belong, and for which the student of Shakespeare has every reason to be thankful, in spite of the facsimile reproductions by photolithography, which in minute particulars are by no means a certain guide. Those who have examined the previous volumes of this edition know the accuracy and fidelity with which Mr. Aldis Wright has executed his task. No pains have been spared, and what ripe scholarship and editorial skill could do has been done. For the text of the great dramatist's works this edition will long hold its own as in every way and by far the best.

The Harp of Perthshire: A Collection of Songs, Ballads, and other Poetical Pieces, chiefly by Local Authors, with Notes Explanatory, Critical and Biographical. By ROBERT FORD. Paisley and London: Alex. Gardner. 1893.

Though Perthshire has failed as yet to produce a poet equal in popularity and genius to the great poet of Ayrshire, it has not failed to produce a goodly number of singers. Gavin Douglas stands high in Scottish literature, and has given a sort of lustre to the county which as long as Scottish literature remains it will always retain. His rugged versions of 'Virgil' and his 'Palace of Honour' are admirable specimens of the old Scottish tongue, and deservedly rank with Barbour's 'Bruce' and Blind Harry's 'Wallace,' as among the chief poetical products of the country. Here, however, it is with the lesser poets that Mr. Ford deals. One or two extracts he has of course given from Douglas, but his pages are chiefly occupied with the verses of many whose names have not yet been admitted into histories of Scottish literature. Their verses, however, are none the less sweet; nor is Mr. Ford's volume any the less acceptable. What strikes us most in connection with it is the poetical wealth of the county. Few counties can show more poets, and none where their work reaches a higher general standard of excellence. It would be strange if it were

otherwise. What county is so rich in romance, or in romantic and magnificent scenery? The Queen of Scottish Counties, Perthshire has also the honour of being the native county of the Queen of Scottish Singers. Next to the songs of Burns, none stand higher or are more genuinely poetic than those of the Baroness Nairne. In some respects they may even be deemed superior to those of the Ayrshire Bard; but whether or not they are always sweet and pure and charming, full of genuine human nature and often touched with genuine humour. Some of her best songs and pieces Mr. Ford has included in his collection. Many others he has included do not fall far short of them. Here, however, we touch upon matters where there is likely to be the greatest diversity of opinion. And besides, our business is not so much with the comparative merits of the writers whose names appear on Mr. Ford's pages, as with the way in which he has done his work. On this there can scarcely be two opinions. The selection and editing of the pieces has evidently had something more from Mr. Ford than care and painstaking skill. Manifestly it has been with him a work of affection. The selection he has made is deserving of the best commendation, and so far as we are able to judge, he has done everything to increase the reader's pleasure while perusing the volume. The notes, whether critical or biographical, are informing and very acceptable. At the end of the volume is a number of pieces not by Perthshire bards, but by poets who have written about Perthshire and whose muse has been inspired by the traditions or scenic splendours of the county. The work deserves to be read beyond the borders of the county to which it refers, and will undoubtedly attain a wide popularity. Its appearance at the present season is opportune. A more admirable companion for a tour in the greatest of Scottish counties can scarcely be desired.

Three Centuries of Scottish Literature. By HUGH WALKER, M.A. 2 vols. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons. 1893.

The three centuries here dealt with begin with Sir David Lindsay and end with Sir Walter Scott. Earlier writers are passed over, and nothing is done to show the continuity of the national thought or national literature. All the writers of the period are not dealt with. Some of importance, such for instance as Winzet, Alexander Montgomery, Fletcher of Saltoun, Hume and Robertson, and Hogg, are passed over, while others of less note, because they chance 'to be members of groups which are collectively important,' are treated of at considerable length. The work, in fact, is more an essay than a history, and can only be regarded as such. On what principle a writer like Winzet has been omitted, it is difficult to tell. His works are certainly controversial, but so are those of Knox. Apart from his personality, there is not much in the works of the latter which is of any particular importance. Were it not that they are associated with his name, they would long since have passed away into oblivion. As it is, there are few Scotsmen who know anything about them, and fewer still who have read any of them save the *History*. They are not of much value even as samples of the vernacular of the period. Winzet, in his *Buke of Four Scoir Thre Questions*, charged Knox with having forgotten 'our auld plane Scottis quhilk your mother lerit you,' and a very cursory glance at his pages is sufficient to detect that there is in them a very large infusion of what Winzet somewhat contemptuously calls 'your southeroun.' But, taking the volumes so far as they go, it must be owned that Mr. Walker has done his work with very considerable tact and ability. There is not much that is fresh in his criticisms, and some of his earlier chapters are overladen with history and biography; still,

what there is, is well done. The best chapters in the first volume are the first on 'Lindsay and the Wedderburns,' and the fifth and sixth on 'The Popular Ballads' and 'The Earlier Songs.' Good use has been made in the last of that strange book, *The Complaynt of Scotland*, and of Chappel's *Popular Music in the Olden Times*, and something has been done to distinguish between songs of Scottish and of English origin, though not much, as might be expected, owing to the extreme difficulty of the question. The chapter entitled 'Ramsay to Ferguson,' with which the second volume opens, does justice to the good work done by Ramsay, as also to his ability, and not less to poor Ferguson. The two chapters which follow deal with a very little known period, while the remaining chapters of the volume are devoted to Burns and Scott. On the whole, with the limitation mentioned, the work is well done. As an essay towards a larger and more complete work, it deserves to be handsomely welcomed. Mr. Walker has the scholarship, the tact, and the ability to do what needs to be done for the literature of the period, and we would fain hope that the reception afforded to his present work will be sufficient to encourage him to undertake it. The neglect with which the literature of the country has, until recently, been treated is not altogether creditable.

Homer and the Epic. By ANDREW LANG, M.A., LL.D. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1892.

Mr. Lang here returns to Homer and the Homeric question—a literary question which he seeks to solve by literary methods. Here are two poems, he says, does each bear the mark and stamp of a single authorship, in harmony, in a preconceived catastrophe to which all tends, in dramatic consonance of character, in grandeur of style? These, as he justly says, are matters of art. They are often approached in the spirit of a cross-examining barrister, or of an historical student testing the accuracy of a statement of facts, and not at all in the spirit of art. His own aim is to treat them from a literary point of view, and to see what the two poems have to say as to their origin when contemplated simply and solely as works of art. With Wolf and his followers he has no sympathy. His own belief is that there was an actual Homer, and that he wrote the two poems tradition has always assigned to him. Even Mr. Leaf's modified theory finds no sympathy with him. Certain flaws, and breaks, and probable insertion of alien matter he admits, but in spite of this he holds that the two Homeric poems are mainly the work of one, or, at most, of two, great poets. In discussing the question, he begins with a statement and criticism of Wolf's famous Prolegomena. Afterwards he examines the theories as to the composition of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* put forth by Mr. Leaf and the latest German criticism. Next the recent archæological discoveries by Schliemann at Mycenæ are discussed in their relation to the date of Homer and the civilization he represents. Lastly, Homer is compared with other early national poems, such as the 'Chanson de Roland,' the 'Nibelungenlied,' 'Beowulf,' and the 'Kalewala.' There is scholarship in the book and there is style. Mr. Lang puts his arguments, as might be expected, in the most attractive and forcible way. Whether he will convert many to his way of thinking is not certain. Perhaps, as he says, the prevalent literary taste is adverse to a correct judgment of Homer. It may be, too, that Mœllendorff will gather more disciples than Mr. Lang. All the same, the Homeric question is of perennial and paramount interest, at least in the world of letters, and Mr. Lang has written a book about it which, if not altogether convincing, is at least attractive and delightful reading.

An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory. By W. J. ASHLEY, M.A. Vol. I., Part II. The End of the Middle Ages. London & New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1893.

The earlier part of this volume of Mr. Ashley's History, which we regret to say we have not seen, appears to have dealt with the history of English Economics during the early part of the Middle Ages. Here the history is continued down to the end of the Middle Ages or to the close of the Tudor period. The contents of the part are distributed into six chapters. The first of them deals with the supremacy of the towns, in which during the later centuries of the period under review, the whole of the commercial and industrial life of the country was, as elsewhere, concentrated, and controlled, assisted and limited. In other countries the Economic evolution appears to have passed through four stages, according as trade and industry were organised on the basis of the village, town, territory or state; but in England the industrial life had not to pass through the third of these stages. At the same time, after the Norman Conquest, the towns were always more or less under the control of a superior power, and from the time of Edward I., Parliament began to issue statutes which were intended to override local privileges and to apply to the whole kingdom. From the beginning of the fourteenth century, therefore, England may be said to have had a national and not merely a town economy, though during the dynastic feuds of the following century the central control was weak, and the towns were to a large extent left free to pursue their own interests. Mr. Ashley works this out with great elaboration, and shows under what conditions trade and industry were carried on in the English towns and with what success. The second chapter treats of the Craft Gilds, their origin, development, regulations, pageantries and ambitions, the history of apprenticeship, the relations between masters and journeymen, and the relation of the Crafts both to legislation and to the municipal authorities. The third chapter deals with the history of the woollen industry, and is followed by another of equal importance on the agrarian revolution which secured during the Tudor period. In the fifth chapter Mr. Ashley deals with the history of the relief of distress in the Middle Ages and with the growth of the Elizabethan Poor Law, subjects closely connected with more than one of the burning questions of to-day. The sixth and last chapter is devoted to a discussion of the economic doctrines advocated in the writings of the canonists. Brief as the above sketch of this second part of Mr. Ashley's work is, it is sufficient to show the wide field it traverses. There is evidence on every page of the carefulness with which the history has been compiled and the generalisations reached, while the notes appended to each chapter afford abundant proof of the painstaking way in which the facts have been gathered from almost every available source. While each of Mr. Ashley's chapters form parts of a thoroughly reasoned work, they are rich in curious information, much of which is here almost for the first time brought to light. It is sufficient here to refer to the remarkably able chapters on the Crafts and the Relief of the Poor. Mr. Ashley has not confined himself either to English or to German sources. Many of the facts he adduces in support of his arguments are drawn from the publications of the Scottish Burgh Record Society.

Some Further Recollections of a Happy Life, Selected from the Journals of Marianne North, chiefly between the Years 1859

and 1869. Edited by her Sister, MRS. JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1893.

These 'Further Recollections of a Happy Life,' are the chapters of Miss North's autobiography which were omited from the volumes of it already published, on the ground that they describe well known ground, and for the purpose of making room for those which dealt with those more distant journeys by which the name of their author has become so widely known. They are in every way deserving of publication. Written at an earlier period, and when Miss North rejoiced in the companionship of her father, bright and charming as the later chapters are, they are even more attractive. Descriptions of the magnificent forest scenery of the tropics which formed so marked a feature in the previous volumes, do not here of course occur ; but the scenes and countries described are, for other and perhaps more important reasons, quite as interesting, if not more so. Besides, the phases of travel here depicted are now, or soon will be, things of the past. Railways and Cook's steamers are spreading everywhere, and the leisurely methods of more primitive modes of locomotion are in a fair way of being entirely supplanted. The diary begins in 1859, when in company with her father, Miss North, immediately on the rising of Parliament, set out for the Pyrenees and Spain. 'There was a misfortune,' she writes, 'at the very start, for into the harbour at St. Heliers, as we were leaving the ship, fell my precious portmanteau, packed with those carefully selected necessaries, of which only those who travel with light luggage know the full value. Everything was thoroughly soaked, and had to be spread out separately to dry ; all my paints, paper, and dress (only one), for we took the least possible luggage, and yet had everything we really needed, even luxuries (?), including a bonnet, whose crown I used to stuff with a compact roll of stockings and cram into a hole left for it amongst my underclothing, just big enough to contain it ; when taken out it would be damped and set in the sun, with the stockings still in its crown, and it stretched itself into its proper shape again and was the admiration of all beholders.' 'On our way to Arcachon, a French gentleman,' Miss North writes, 'got into our carriage in a complete *costume de chasse*, dog and all.' After gossiping a little and inquiring where they were going, he strongly recommended them to try the Hôtel de l'Empereur—'actually found its card in his pocket and gave it as a reminder, and got out at the next station to join a friend in another carriage.' He turned out to be the landlord himself, who was in the habit of frequenting the line, changing carriages at every station and seeking to catch strangers to fill his house. 'At Arcachon,' Miss North informs us, 'he put us into his own omnibus, showed us our rooms in the long wooden one-storied shanty he called an hotel, after which we saw him, first, in a white cap cooking in the kitchen ; secondly, dressed like a Paris swell, in pure white even to his boots, carving and dining at the head of the table, strolling about with his guests in the evening, smoking cigarettes and talking affably. By daylight he was back in Bordeaux, carrying on the sport of trapping boarders; that man deserved to make a fortune.' The pleasures and inconveniences of travelling in the old Spanish diligence are described with the same buoyancy of spirit. So are the ladies, priests, and muleteers. 'Our Catalan muleteers,' we are told, 'were most picturesquely clad in purple with scarlet sashes, scarves, velvet breeches, tags and tassels, and scarlet baggy caps. The mules too were much betasselled and bejingled, and were full of deliberation and dignity, standing much on the order of their going ; they have an acknowledged leader amongst them, and an order of precedence for the single file, which the

narrow paths compel them to take. It might have been a risk of life to interfere with the mules' ideas on these subjects, and indeed the less we had to do with guiding them the better, so we sat still and admired the scenery, and left locomotion to those who had contracted to convey us.' Of the Spanish capital Miss North writes : 'Madrid tries to look like Paris or London, anything but Spain, but its collection of pictures redeems it, and one forgets all else in looking at them. It has probably the finest collection of portraits in the world. Titian, Vandyke, Antonio Moro's portrait of Queen Mary, all in red—chair, dress, hair, what Whistler would call a symphony in red (but one he could not paint). What a masterpiece of rich colour it was! Velasquez's Roman-nosed horses seemed to be jumping straight out of their frames at us, but they were not exaggerated. I saw many such creatures ambling through the streets before we left the country, with their long manes and tails plaited up with ribands and jingling ornaments.' Italy, Sicily, Dalmatia, Asia Minor, Egypt and Greece were afterwards visited. The incidents which the travellers met with are all described in the same lively and interesting way with a mind overflowing with good humour and keenly alive to the ludicrous, pathetic, historical or artistic. Passages lending themselves to quotation may be found on almost every page. We have already transgressed our limits and must restrict ourselves to the following, which refers to the year 1861. 'Athens is not large ; my father and myself walked round it before breakfast the next morning, but we agreed that it was one of the few places whose beauty and interest far exceed its reputation. The modern town, almost a village, half Greek houses, half German, with shutters to all the windows ; the big palace standing among the trees, palms, and garden ground which had cost an endless amount of money to irrigate and keep green, but which seemed almost an impertinence just under the venerable Acropolis. I had never dreamt of the loveliness of the sunrise and sunset reflections on their smooth rocks and golden-tinted marble ruins ; they were positively dazzling. The temples themselves are now known to every one from photographs, and from the various models scattered over the world, and would require the knowledge of an architect and of a classical poet together to describe, but if one place only in the whole world could be visited, I should say, "Go to Athens, and live on its remembrance all the rest of your life."'

The Chronicles of the Sid, or Life and Travels of Adelia Gates. By ADELA E. ORPEN. London: Religious Tract Society. 1893.

These Chronicles contain the extremely interesting narrative of a singularly remarkable life. The Sid, or, to call her by her right name, Miss Gates, was simple and unpretentious, of great determination of character, genial and attractive, a great traveller and an acute observer. Late in life she took to painting, and whether in pursuit of her art or merely to gratify her desire for travel, wandered over a great part of the world. There is no story of thrilling adventure in the record of her travel, still there is something about her wanderings, and the narrative of them, which invests them with something more than ordinary interest. Alone or unprotected she spent a couple of months in the Sahara, visited the sacred places of the Holy Land, saw the midnight sun in Norway, and wandered about among the geysers of Iceland. Before this she had been a factory girl at Lowell, a teacher, a student in Antioch College, a governess in the prairies of Kansas. The story of her life and travels, which is for the most part made up from her diaries, has been put together in these Chronicles with skilful and affectionate hands. Few will read them without pleasure. They reveal the character of a very remarkable woman.

Hic et Ubique. By Sir William Fraser, Baronet, M.A., &c. London: Sampson Low, Marston, & Co. 1893.

This handsomely printed little volume is a collection of good stories, similar to Sir William Fraser's previous books on Wellington and Lord Beaconsfield. Unlike them, however, the anecdotes it contains are respecting a great variety of individuals. Two more stories are told about Wellington and Disraeli, one of which may here be reproduced, inasmuch as we are told that it was a favourite with Wellington. 'The Duke of Wellington was asked whether he considered personal beauty in a man of much use to him; he replied, "My looks were once of great use to me." He then related the following story: it reached me through the Duke's brother-in-law, the late Dean Pakenham; it was, I was told, a favourite story of the Duke's, if not his most favourite story. After the Army passed from Spain into France, and occupied the low plains at the Northern foot of the Pyrenees, the Duke directed Lord Hill to take up a position at a short distance from the main body, across one of the many streams in that locality. The water was very low, and easily fordable at the time, but during the night a very heavy rain came on; the next day the stream was nine or ten feet deep, and Lord Hill, with only a few thousand men, was in dangerous proximity to Marshal Soult's whole army. Nothing was heard of Lord Hill during the whole day; his position evidently had not been discovered by the French. On the following morning the Duke became anxious; he determined to cross over himself to ascertain the state of affairs. A small boat was procured; the Duke got into it, and remained standing. The stream was very narrow but deep; the boat touched the opposite bank, close to where an Irish sentry was posted: the man challenged the party, who could not give the countersign, on which Pat levelled his musket to fire at them. Looking along the barrel he recognised the Commander-in-Chief, just as his Grace stepped on shore; he immediately brought his musket to the salute, and, with the greatest good humour, called out: "God bless your craegid (crooked) nose! I'd sooner see it than tin thousand min." The Duke used to finish his story by adding, "I protest that this is the greatest personal compliment ever paid me in the whole course of my life."' The stories are apparently strung together in no principle; but, principle or no principle, their interest never flags. Sir William is an admirable narrator, brilliant without being wearisome, and always interesting if not informing. He has a keen insight into human nature and its ways, and is always good-natured. Now and then he throws in some interesting speculation on art or philosophy, and gives one the feeling of being in the company of a most charming companion. All sorts of people are met with in his pages, and whatever is told about them is told in the best of temper. Among other personages Sir William introduces are Napoleon III., the Duke de Praslin, Mr. W. H. Smith, Lord Lytton, Garibaldi, Kavanagh of Lucknow, Prince Bismarck, George Cruikshank, the Miss Berrys, Lord Melbourne, Lord Raglan, Sir Julius Benedict, Rogers, Sir Alexander Cockburn, Captain Gosset, and Bernal Osborne. Stories about Thackeray, for whom he had an intense personal regard, cover many pages. Mr. Foster, the original of the famous 'Jeames of Buckley Square,' Sir William knew well, and has some very curious things to tell about him. The temptation to quote some of the good things Sir William has to tell, both about Thackeray and others, is almost irresistible. We can only say in conclusion that no one who takes up the volume will willingly lay it down till he has read it through. Another volume is promised by the author containing his reminiscences about the late Emperor of the French.

More about the Mongols. By JAMES GILMOUR. Selected and Arranged from the Diaries and Papers of JAMES GILMOUR, by RICHARD LOVETT, M.A. London: The Religious Tract Society. 1893.

It is not at all unlikely that this volume, which affectionate hands have put together from the papers Mr. Gilmour left behind him, will have as large a circulation as *Among the Mongols.* It is much on the same lines, and is invested with the same interest. Here and there it traverses much the same ground as the earlier volume, still there is no want of freshness or novelty about it. The earlier chapters are taken up with an account of Mr. Gilmour's journey across the great table-land or desert of Gobi, during the time when he was, so to say, serving his apprenticeship and endeavouring to acquire facility in the Mongolian tongue. The difficulties he had to contend with and the many incidents he met with in his travels are all graphically related. Hairbreadth escapes and such like do not of course appear in the volume. The incidents Mr. Gilmour met with are, as readers of *Among the Mongols* are aware, of a much quieter nature. All the same, whatever Mr. Gilmour has to relate is strangely attractive. He was an acute observer, and in possession of considerable descriptive power. His pictures are never elaborate, but they are always vivid. Some of the incidents he met with were by no means pleasant. At one place we have the entry: 'Numerous human skulls lying just outside the town, some of them fresh, and scarcely having the gristle picked off the bone.' Here, again, is something of the same sort: 'Was sleeping about 9 A.M. in cart, turned and looked out, saw commandant going towards two little flags that fluttered a little way from the road: he waved, and I followed. We found the corpse of a Mongol laid out on the bare ground. The body had no covering but a piece of paper over the face, and a large piece inscribed in the Tibetan character, covering from the shoulder to the knees. The body was not "laid out," but left in the position the deceased had been in at the moment of death, legs doubled and crossed, arms crossed. To all appearance the body had not been out long, perhaps a day or two at most. The paper that fluttered about was not destroyed much. The body for the most part promised not to corrupt. The person had been old and shrivelled, and the wind and the sun were completing what old age had begun, and converting the body into a mummy until such time as rain should come, or wild beasts and birds make havoc of it. It was still untouched. There were two cloth flags on a small staff, both pieces, one white, one a faded yellow, covered with dimly inscribed Tibetan characters. There were also little cones of a dull yellowish substance placed on stones at regular distances around. These cones also bore Tibetan characters.' Pictures of Mongol life are to be met with on almost every page. As might be expected, much is said about the religion and religious customs of the people. Mongolian camels have a chapter to themselves, and the meteorology of Mongolia has another.

The Romance of Electricity. By JOHN MUNRO. London: Religious Tract Society. 1893.

Mr. Munro has written a good deal on electricity; but this is perhaps his most instructive, and at the same time most entertaining, book on the subject. He has no new theory or experiments of his own to communicate, but he has proved himself a most industrious and attractive chronicler. His researches have led him far back into the past, and he has continued them down to the most recent date. Very fittingly he has chosen for th

title of his volume *The Romance of Electricity*, and the story or stories he has to tell are in many respects of the most romantic kind. The history of electricity as a subject of knowledge is itself a romance, while what electricity does is often more strange and startling than the wildest imaginings of romancers. His volume may be described as an accumulation of facts, for the most part thoroughly authentic, respecting electricity, with here and there a sprinkling of theory. It deals with all such subjects as thunder and lightning, fireballs, which he does not think are altogether fabulous or mythical, St. Elmo's fire, the telegraph, telephone, microphone, and electric light. For popular information on these and similar topics, plainly and attractively put, his volume is a perfect storehouse, gathered in many instances from the most inaccessible sources. A chapter on the future of electricity foreshadows some of the uses and developments which may still be expected in connection with this mysterious, but often terrible, agent.

National Selection and Spiritual Freedom (Macmillan) by Joseph John Murphy, author of *The Scientific Bases of Faith*, is for the most part a review and criticism of the opinions set forth by Professor Drummond in his *National Law in the Spiritual World.* Admirers of that brilliant, but far from satisfactory book, will be surprised to find its arguments or statements so roughly handled. To enter into the controversy is not our business. All we can say is that Mr. Murphy's criticisms are trenchant, and that their refutation will be a work of considerable trouble. On the other hand, Mr. Murphy advances one or two doctrines, on which, those who are not of his way of thinking, will in all probability have much to say. The essays—for the volume is a collection of essays, the substance of some which have seen the light before—are written with admirable brevity and clearness.

The title which the Hon. A. S. G. Canning has given to this latest of his literary productions, *Words on Existing Religions: an Historical Sketch*, (W. H. Allen & Co., Limited,) is so delightfully unpretentious that it almost disarms criticism. Yet it must be said that the 'words' are very badly put together, and that the historical sketch is so very sketchy that it is almost valueless, even when it is comprehensible. Let us give a specimen of what the author regards as English diction. He is referring to 'Teutonic and Arabian Paganism.' 'Neither art,' he writes, 'literature, and few authenticated legends adorn their memories, nor revive interest in the lands where they once prevailed.' *Ex uno disce, etc.*

To the many instructive little volumes in the series published by the Religious Tract Society under the title of 'By-paths to Bible knowledge,' Professor Sayce has added another with the title, *Social Life Among the Assyrians and Babylonians.* There are eight short chapters in it, which deal with such topics as how the people lived, education, marriage customs, the market, the money-lender, slavery and the agricultural labour, trades and professions. The information is drawn from the Bible, Herodotus, Strabo, and original records.

Among the books which the Jubilee of the Free Church of Scotland has called forth, is Dr. Peter Bayne's *The Free Church of Scotland, Her Origin, Founders and Testimony* (T. & T. Clark). It is as a Free Churchman that Dr. Bayne writes. For his information he has gone to the principal Free Church authorities. He has also drawn largely upon his own recollections. The book is, as might almost be expected, to a large extent polemical. As a popular representation of the men and events connected with the Disruption of 1843, from the standpoint of its writer, it will probably meet with acceptance.

Historic Personality (Macmillan), by Francis Seymour Stevenson, M.P., is a charming series of essays in a beautiful little volume, the principal purpose of which is to supply an answer, or at least a partial answer, to the questions: How do we know what was in men? How do we arrive at a perception of their resemblances and of their differences? The men Mr. Stevenson refers to are not the men of the present, but the men who have played a prominent part either in making or in writing history. With a view to the answering of his questions, he discusses the characteristics of historical, biographical, autobiographical, and other species of writing. Notwithstanding the present tendency of historical research to make the consideration of personal character more and more subordinate to the examination of general causes and of the general conditions which have brought on the great movements which constitute the great landmarks in the development of civilization, he believes that 'as long as human nature remains the same, it may confidently be anticipated that the personal element in history will retain its hold upon mankind, and that the efforts to resuscitate the mighty spirits of the past, to infuse into the dry bones the breath of life, and to carry on 'dialogues of the dead,' and 'imaginary conversations' will continue to exercise an irresistible charm, as well as a beneficial influence upon thoughtful mankind.' The difficulty of ascertaining the personal element is admitted. That 'le style c'est l'homme' Mr. Stevenson does not believe, and gives some very good reasons why it is not and cannot be so regarded. For instance, 'The works of some writers,' he remarks, 'are characterised by an irrepressible self-consciousness, which, however, seldom reveals the real self. The works of others are marked by an objectiveness which conceals their personality altogether.' Mr. Stevenson's papers show wide reading, and are marked here and there by acute criticism. Altogether the little volume is one to be read and prized.

Selections from the Poems of Walter C. Smith (Maclehose & Sons) will meet with great favour. It contains the choicest piece in the now somewhat voluminous poetical writings of their talented author. Admirably printed, it is in many respects a charming volume.

Scottish Ballad Poetry is another volume in the 'Abbotsford Series of Scottish Poets' edition by George Eyre-Todd. The ballads given are of course only a few out of many. We miss some of our old favourites, but that was to be expected. On the whole Mr. Eyre-Todd may be said to have made the best selection his limits would permit. His general introduction as well as the introduction prefixed to each of the ballads are written with knowledge. A cheaper edition might be of service as a school book.

To their series 'Les Artistes Célèbres' Messrs. Allison & Co. have added *Les Fréres van Ostade*. The text is from the pen of Marguerite van de Wiele, who gives a lively and interesting sketch of the lives of the van Ostades, and a critical account of their works. Adrian van Ostade had something of the character of Wilkie as an artist. Such of his works as are here introduced are full of life and humour. Izaak followed a different line; while his brother clung to portraits and interiors, he preferred to depict landscapes and scenes in the open air.

The same publishers have issued in two facsicules *Paysagistes Contemporanis*, a reproduction of one hundred and one landscapes on wood by the best artists of England, France, Germany, Belgium, and other European countries. The reproductions are of various degrees of excellence; but are always sufficiently distinct and effective to convey an idea of the originals. For those who have not seen the latter they may prove excellent substitutes.

Decipherment of Blurred Finger Prints (Macmillan) is a chapter which Mr. Francis Galton has written as a supplement to his recently published *Finger Prints.* In that work when referring to the impressions which had been taken in India by the instructions of Sir W. Herschel, he suggested that if any of the Hindoos whose impressions they were, were still alive, they should be hunted up, and fresh impressions taken. This has now been been done. Fresh finger prints of eight of the originals have been obtained, and in the chapter now issued Mr. Galton compares the 1878 and 1892 impressions, and points out their agreements and disagreements, making in the course of his comparison a number of highly useful remarks and suggestions.

Sweet First-Fruits (Religious Tract Society) is a remarkable little book. As Sir William Muir, who has translated and condensed it from the Arabic, observes, it is a romance ; but while a romance, it is founded on fact, and gives a veracious account of the sufferings to which the converts to Christianity are exposed under the Turkish rule. Its author, we learn, is a recent convert, and has experienced much of what he relates. In many ways the book is valuable. Sir William Muir has written an introduction to the volume, in which he gives an account of the author, whose name is for obvious reasons withheld.

For reprints and new editions the quarter has been somewhat notable. Mr. Aldis Wright's concluding volume of the Cambridge Shakespeare and Mr. Bury's new edition of Mr. Freeman's *History of Federal Government*, with its additional chapter on Federation in Italy, the fragment on German Federalism and supplemental notes have been mentioned already.

From the same publishers, Messrs. Macmillan & Co., we have also received the first volume of the Third Edition of Mr. Bryce's *American Commonwealth*, a work which is apparently and deservedly having an enormous sale, both here and in America. The text has been revised throughout, many corrections have been made, and the statistics have been brought down to the latest date. The work is admirably printed, and so far as its contents are concerned, this new and cheaper edition is an improvement on the original.

Mr. Alexander Gardner (Paisley and London) has just issued a new and carefully revised edition of *The Ballad Minstrelsy of Scotland—Romantic and Historical*, which ought to receive a wide and warm welcome. It is very tastefully got up, and is printed on a thin but excellent paper, so that the work, voluminous as it is, is of medium size, and is light and easy to handle. Each of the ballads is prefaced with interesting notes as to its authorship, where known, and history, so that the work not only forms a splendid collection of our Scottish ballads, but furnishes in brief a compendium of all which lovers of ballad-poetry would desire to learn about them. And all this is produced at the modest price of five shillings.

The first volume of Dr. Aidan Gasquet's *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries* (Hodges) has reached its fifth edition. Its popularity is deserved. It throws new and unexpected light on the history and suppression of the English monastic houses, and shows that the prevalent ideas on these subjects need to be revised and in many instances completely reversed. The second volume it is to be hoped will soon follow.

The most recent volumes in Messrs. Macmillan & Co's. new and cheap re-issue of the late Professor Maurice's works are *The Apocalypse, The Friendship of Books,* and the lectures on *Social Morality.* The first contains the well known lectures on the Book of Revelation, and the second

a number of lectures on literary and historical subjects. The preface is by the author of *Tom Brown's Schooldays.* The lectures in the last volume were delivered by their author as Professor of Moral Philosophy at Cambridge.

Ben Jonson is the latest addition to the Mermaid Series of the best plays from the old Dramatists, a series which is now published by Mr. Fisher Unwin. The plays in this volume—there are to be three—have been carefully selected and edited by Dr. Brinsley Nicholson. Mr. Herford contributes an introduction to the volumes, in which he gives an account of Ben Jonson and his works. The text is unexpurgated.

Another volume of reprints from the firm of Mr. Fisher Unwin is a collection of papers by Mr. H. B. Baildon with the title *The Merry Month.* For the most part the papers deal with open air life in town and country, but generally in the latter. They are pleasantly and attractively written. The second half of the volume is taken up with a description of Oberammergau and its Passion-plays, which will be read with interest by those who have witnessed the plays as well as by others.

Not the least interesting Reprint of the Quarter is *Poems by Two Brothers.* (Macmillan). Need we say that the two brothers are the late Poet-Laureate and his brother Charles. A facsimile of the original title-page is given. The poems, we understand, are exactly as they stood in the original edition of 1827. At the end several other poems are printed. These it would appear were in the 1807 MS., but for some unforgotten reason were omitted.

After the Revolution and other Holiday Papers (Hodge & Co.) by William Wallace is a collection of papers which in a slightly different form have already appeared in the columns of *The Glasgow Herald.* Readers of that newspaper were in the habit of looking forward to their appearance because of the amusement they afforded. They are written with a flowing pen and overflow with wit, humour and burlesque. All through them, however, there runs a graver vein of reflection, and beneath the fun and satire there is a current of dark presage and foreboding as to the turn modern life may take.

Our acknowledgements are due for the following :—*The Optical Indicatrix and the Transmission of Light in Crystals,* by L. Fletcher, M.A., F.R.S. (Froude) ; *Philistines and Israelites* : A New Light on the World's History, by H. Martyn Kennard (Chapman & Hall) ; *An outline of Legal Philosophy,* by W. A. Watt, M.A., LL.B. (T. & T. Clark) ; *Criminology,* by Arthur MacDonald, with Introduction by Dr. Cesare Lombroso (Funk & Wagnals' Company) ; *A Red-Cross Romance,* by Andrew Chalmers (Simpkin, Marshall & Co., Wyllie & Sons, Aberdeen) ; *El Nuevo Mundo,* a Poem by Louis James (Black, Kerr & Co., Chicago) ; *The Angel and King,* and Other Poems, by John Augustine Wilstach (Moulton, Buffalo) ; *the Conquest of Mexico and Peru,* a narrative Poem, by Kanahan Cornwallis (Office of the *Daily Investigator,* New York) ; *Poems Dramatic and Democratic,* by Gascoigne Mackie (Elliot Stock) ; *Musical History,* as shown in the International Exhibition of Music and Drama, Vienna, 1892, by Robert A. Marr (Reeves) ; *Mr. By-ends of Fairspeech,* and other sketches from Bunyan, by Leslie Keith (Religious Tract Society) ; *The Guinea Stamp,* by A. S. Swan (Oliphant) ; *Kilgarvie,* by R. F. Hardy (Oliphant) ; *Aldersyde,* by A. S. Swan (Oliphant) ; *Science, Patrie, Religion* (Colin et Cie.) par F.-A. Aulard.

THE

SCOTTISH REVIEW.

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ART. I.—SIR JOHN CLERK OF PENICUIK.

The History of My Life. By Sir JOHN CLERK of Penicuik. Edited for the Scottish History Society by J. M. GRAY. Edinburgh. 1892.

THE Scottish History Society is doing useful work. Its name and its motto taken together fully explain the purpose for which it exists. *Colligite Fragmenta ne pereant* sounds with peculiar force in the ear of the historian. Many such fragments have been already lost—many lie hid in utter obscurity. To this Society belongs the credit of having rescued not a few, and secured them from the risks to which even a valued family MS. is exposed. The literary merit of its publications is a matter of quite secondary consideration, for an old estates book or mere record of personal expenditure, which by some good luck has escaped the fate of waste paper, may shed much light on past history.

In the charter-room of Penicuik House, that stately Midlothian mansion, there has lain for many a year, amidst vast piles of other papers and the miscellaneous lot of odds and ends which find their way to such places, what its editor has well described as 'a stout quarto volume, its battered vellum binding warped and time-stained, and its margins mouldering away with damp.' The author has not been altogether forgotten even in these days, although we fancy that he has become a good deal mixed up with some of his descendants. For the name he bore has been

perpetuated in the family, and seems to have been always well bestowed. We noticed the other day in a London periodical, John Clerk, the famous lawyer and wit, set down as the author of a treatise on naval tactics, the explanation of course being that his father, who did write upon that subject, precedes him in the Dictionary of Biography, the very evident source of the reviewer's knowledge.

Nearly a century and a half have passed away since Sir John Clerk, second baronet of Penicuik, was gathered to his fathers. The public events in which he played a part have grown dim with the mist of years, and most of the subjects upon which he wrote have ceased to interest. His pamphlets are still to be met with in old libraries, where they are seldom disturbed. Few would trouble to shake the dust off his *Disertatio de stylis Veterum et Diversis Chartarum Generibus* or his *De Monumentis Quibusdam Romanis*. Nevertheless the author himself, who, in the pages before us, seems to have stepped out of William Aikman's canvas, and to be giving us the benefit of an interview without any ceremony or reserve, will be pronounced delightful. He is so natural and kindly, so shrewd and observing, so contented with his surroundings, so cultivated and accomplished; in short, so thoroughly the right man in the right place, that even putting aside the historical value of the book, it has an interest which would quite justify its publication. Although a keen antiquary, and belonging to a period when antiquarian studies were of a somewhat dreary nature, he was no Dryasdust or Dr. Heavy Sterne from the Low Countries, but rather a veritable Jonathan Oldbuck, and one is quite ready to credit the tradition which identifies him with the true hero of the famous Praetorium scene.

There is but one objection which may be taken to these memoirs; their publication violates the solemnly expressed directions of the author. 'I absolutely prohibite and discharge,' he writes, 'any of my posterity from lending them or dispersing them abroad.' And it was because he had taken this precaution that he felt himself at liberty to indulge 'in that negligence of style that so many trifling occurrences may deserve.' He was a fastidious writer. His Latin history of the Union, still preserved in the fair penmanship of the domestic chaplain, never saw the

light, because it never satisfied the old baronet. Could he have foreseen the doings of the Scottish History Society, he would either have destroyed this MS. or re-written it in such a fashion as would have robbed it of its charm.

The Clerks were originally successful merchants, for some generations settled in Montrose, from whence one of them, early in the seventeenth century, went to France, and returned about the close of the great Civil War with the handsome fortune of £10,000 sterling. He married the daughter of Sir William Gray of Pittendrum, and in 1654 purchased the barony of Penicuik.

> 'That fair dome where suit is paid
> By blast of bugle free.'

He was in due time succeeded in his estate by his son John, whose wife, Elizabeth Henderson, was the daughter of an Edinburgh physician and the grand-daughter of the poet Drummond of Hawthornden. Upon this second laird of Penicuik Charles II. conferred a baronetcy. Sir John was member for Midlothian, and added largely to the family possessions by the purchase of the barony of Lasswade and other lands. His son was the author of these memoirs. 'I was born the 8th of February, 1676,' he writes, 'and have reason to be thankful to God that tho' I be not descended of noble parents or from an ancient family, yet I am the son of those who bore deservedly a very great name for religion, virtue, honour and honesty.'

He was put to school at Penicuik after the fashion of those days, when the children of lairds and their tenants sat on the same benches. Here, be it noted, he learned both Latin and Greek, and also from his experience of the fierce dominie, 'never to suffer any man to use my children and young friends as if born to be slaves.' Then followed two winters of 'Logicks and Metaphisicks' in the College of Glasgow, which he looked upon as wasted time, 'indeed it cost me as many years to unlearn what I had learnt at Glasgow.' In 1692 he entered upon what was then the final stage of education for a young Scotchman of position, and who aimed at a learned profession. He sailed for Holland to complete his studies at Leyden. The *Album S s-orum* of this famous university has, in recent years, be

lished, and affords ample evidence of the manner in which our ancestors availed themselves of its advantages. In the same year with that of Clerk are recorded twelve other well known Scottish names. There is an Erskine and a Dundas, a Kinloch and a Grant. Our Medical School of Edinburgh may be said to have received its first inspirations there, and until we had built up a municipal law of our own, Scottish lawyers found their studies more conveniently pursued abroad. The modest buildings of Leyden struck Clerk, as they do the visitors of to-day, by their small and insignificant appearance. Old Glasgow College was certainly not much to boast of, but at Leyden 'the whole building is by half not so good as an ordinary country church.' But the professors were a brilliant little band. Here were such masters of the civil law as Vitrarius and Voet, while Voorbrock and Gronovius discoursed upon the learning and eloquence of the ancients, and Spanheim held forth upon Church History. To all of them Clerk lent an attentive ear. Art was studied under the painter Mieris. Even his vacations, spent at the Hague, were devoted to the acquisition of modern languages. With evident pride he records that he never 'had half an houer to spend in idleness, but diverted my mind by different successive studies.' His chief friend was a young Dutch student Hermann Boerhaave, destined in time to come to do much service for Leyden, and to train many a Scottish Doctor within its walls. Boerhaave and Clerk lived like brothers together, and when the latter caught smallpox, his friend had an opportunity of trying a cure which he believed he had discovered. 'I grew,' writes Clerk, 'perfectly well in about a week after. The Doctor, from this success, was extremely elated, and promised himself a very great fortune on his repairing to London and seting up upon the success of this single specifick for the cure of the smallpox, but to my misfortune the disease returned upon me about 5 months after with great violence.' An account of the cure will be found in W. Burton's Life of Boerhaave.

Three years spent in such hard studies fairly entitled the young Scotchman to a good long holiday. His 'vast desire' was to see Italy, for music, art, and Roman antiquities possessed his soul at that time, and all through his life. He first visited Germany

and Austria. At Vienna he was introduced to the Emperor Leopold I., who, discovering his love of music, invited him to his private opera. 'At his Court,' says Clerk, 'it was an ordinary thing for him to sit down and entertain the company with his musick, singing and playing very finely; but I confess this sight was so shoking to me that it had liked to have spoiled all my inclination to performing myself, if it had not been that I foresaw I was not to be rich enough to purchase musick any other way than what I made by myself, especially in my oune country, where at this time there is no such thing. Nothing could be more rediculouse than the odd figure the poor old Emperor made on such occasions.' With all his personal love for the art, Clerk seems to have entertained an idea that there was something derogatory in being too much of a musician, for elsewhere, referring to his own accomplishments, he says, 'I performed rather better than became a gentleman.' At Rome he had a recurrence of small-pox. He had a good doctor, but one who showed him no tenderness. 'Whether or not he lookt upon me with contempt because I was not of his religion I cannot tell; but if it was this, the thing seemed the more extraordinary to me that I never yet had known any physitian who had any religion at all.' He however found a kind, if not altogether disinterested friend, in a certain Father Cosimo Clerk, an intimate of the Duke of Florence, but of Scotch origin, and indeed the son of an advocate. He claimed kinship, and was probably a Scotch cousin. Clerk gives one instance of his usefulness :—

'I had at the same time many visits from Priests and Friars in order to convert me, and in the danger of Death to pray for me, but my cousin, Father Clerk, who attended me, and who never troubled his head with Religion of any kind, took off a little of the burden and disquietude I had felt on these occasions. He pretended that he was constantly about my soul's concerns, so that there was no need for them to take any trouble about matters that was in so great forwardness already.'

On the other hand, Clerk was useful to the worthy father, who, being a Franciscan was unable openly to indulge in luxuries, but started a coach and two servants nominally for the benefit of his cousin, this distinguished young Scotchman. Thus he went on—

'I supported the Father's dignity and he supported my credit, without

any expectation of a return, except to own him as my Patron and Father, as well as my near relation.'

In Rome he must indeed have been very happy. Here he had his heart's content of music and antiquities. 'I excelled,' he naively writes, 'to a fault in the first, but the practice of musick gave me easier access to the best company in Rome than other strangers had.' His masters were Pasquini and Correlli. The latter is described as the *princeps Musicorum* upon his monument in St. Peters. No wonder Clerk lingered more than a year amidst such scenes and occupations, and acquired a life-long love of Roman antiquities. But his father at home, who had expected his son's return after the Leyden course was finished, and who doubtless feared lest music and art should expel the legal lore previously acquired—kept urging a homeward course, which was at last reluctantly and in a very leisurely fashion followed. Men in those days had rarely an opportunity of repeating a Continental tour. It was the one grand event of life, and Clerk was well aware that Italy would know him no more. For the future he had to content himself with collecting as many relics of ancient Rome as fell in his way, and turning his various residences into museums of antiquities.

He went from Genoa to France by sea, and during the voyage, made in a small coasting vessel, he was exposed to some risk through the desperate flirtation of a young Spanish lady, and the jealousy of her husband. 'The latter had no inclination that I should make up any acquaintance with his wife, but she, on the other hand, took more than ordinary pains to make me one of her gallants. One day I thought we had been fairly quit of them both, for as she was diverting herself on the side of the boat she fell into the sea near Vila Franca, and had certainly perished if the poor husband in his outmost dispaire had not throuen himself into the sea after her, and by swimming saved her life. However, the creature was not a bit the better for the danger she had escaped, but continued as frantick as ever.' When asked why she was not contented with her own husband, 'who was a very pretty young man,' she gave two reasons. 'First, that he was her husband, and she did not care to be tied to anybody; and next, because he was too fond of her, and too frequent in his

caresses.' In a storm which afterwards nearly caused their shipwreck, Clerk had an opportunity of observing that the lady showed more courage than her spouse. 'A great many vows were made by my companions to this and the other Virgin Mary or Saint upon being delivered from the danger we were in, but she made no vows, as I believe she was conscious of not keeping them.' In Paris he saw a compend of all the splendour and vanities of the world. 'The King,' old Lewis, as he calls him, was 'a big black sensual man, always under the government of some woman or other, and vastly intoxicated with the flatteries of those about him at the time.' He 'had given a great deal of disturbance to Europe, and was like to give a great deal more.' But Clerk found Paris uninteresting after his beloved Rome. Everything in the former seemed but a mere copy from a Roman original. He was unable to give the French credit for anything but excellent dancing. A Frenchman's 'aire and motion in a dance was agreeable to me, or possibly to any British man, but to no one else, for neither the Italians nor Spaniards would allow the French any other agreeable gesture or mien but what became a monkey more than a man.'

Before bidding a final adieu to the Continent he revisited Leyden, where he found his friend Boerhaave prospering in the knowledge of his science, but obliged to confess that his cure for small-pox would not do. The disease had an awkward trick of returning with worse symptoms than before. What most surprised Clerk in the great physician, was the fact that 'tho' he was a big clumsey man, with fingers proportionable, yet from the time I had left him in Holand he had acquired a dexterity in playing on the French Lute above all men I had ever heard.' The return journey, commenced after reiterated commands from his father, was made by Harwich and London, and thence by riding to Scotland, which was reached after an absence of five years.

Clerk has filled two MS. volumes with the journals of his travels. They are illustrated by a number of his own drawings, in the opinion of Mr. J. M. Gray, a competent authority, above the average of amateur performances. As for the journals themselves, judging from the extracts which are given, one would li

to know more of them. But the Scottish History Society is obliged to confine its operations to its own country, and cannot follow the Scot abroad, save in an incidental fashion.

Scotland meant a farewell to music and painting, and a renewal of his Civil law studies, which succeeded so well that he passed both his public and private examinations 'with some applause,' and was admitted Advocate on 20th July, 1700. The young lawyer began to look about for a wife. Matrimonial negotiations were started by his father, who, after one or two unsuccessful attempts seems to have wisely left the matter in the hands of his son, and finally a marriage was brought about with the sister of the Earl of Galloway, Lady Margaret Stuart, who was all that could be desired in respect of beauty and connections. The union, although unfortunately destined to a short duration, had an important bearing upon his future life. The young couple started in a little house in Edinburgh, furnished 'in a very handsome way' by his father, and with an allowance of 4,000 merks yearly. This sum (over £200) was objected to by the lady's relatives, and powerful influence was brought to bear upon Sir John to have it increased, but without success. The marriage took place in the spring of 1701, and ere that year had closed Clerk was a widower. The account which he gives of his wife's last illness, bitter sufferings and death, is very pathetic. She died in child-bed, possibly a victim to the clumsy surgery and medical ignorance of the day. 'It was afterwards,' he writes, 'the least part of my truble to see my little family, so lately set up, all dispersed, and every one of us, except a single servant to wait on myself, sent to different places.'

Lady Margaret Clerk had been a first cousin of James Duke of Queensberry, at that period the most prominent man in Scotland, and then engaged in the important work of forming a party sufficiently strong to carry the Union. He and Clerk met at a time when the latter, with his domestic prospects all blighted, was naturally inclined to seek the distractions of a public life. The great man, who was a 'compleat courtier,' gave gracious promises of advancement, and what was more, he afterwards made them good. A seat was obtained for Clerk as representative for Whithorn in the new Parliament of 1703. Queensberry

was appointed Commissioner, and Clerk was so identified with his party as to be 'mounted at the ryding on a fine gray pad' belonging to the Duke, at whose table he dined almost daily.

Our author gives a short but terse description of the three parties into which the Scottish Parliament was then divided. The first was the Court party, to which he himself belonged, supporters of the Government of the day as represented in the person of the Duke. 'They had the union of the two nations in view, because they not only considered it as the happiest thing that could be brought about for the interest of Great Britain, but because it was expressly recommended to them by the Queen.' The regular Opposition, as we should now call it, was of course composed of the Jacobites; 'they were to thwart and disturb the Administration at any rate.' The third faction, known as the Squadrone Volante, occupied a peculiar position, and were looked upon by Clerk pretty much as a Liberal Unionist is looked upon by a Gladstonian. They were 'all Whigs in their principles, but also herded together and kept little or no communication with the Duke of Queensberry and his friends.' They were more offensive than the Jacobites, and their profession of patriotism was considered a mere pretence. But he has a good word to say for their leader, John, second Marquis of Tweeddale, and for Fletcher of Saltoun, who also belonged to it. 'The above-mentioned factions,' Clerk says, 'rubb'd upon one another, and with great severity, so that we were often in the form of a Polish diet, with our swords in our hands, or at least our hands at our swords.' He was appointed, by the influence of the Duke, a commissioner to enquire into the public accounts and debt. The good work which he did in this capacity led to his selection for the still more important commission for the Treaty of Union, appointed a few years later, 'tho' at that time very young for so great a trust.' The scene was then changed from Edinburgh to London, where he arrived in April 1706. The Commissioners of the two nations worked separately at Westminster, but had one room in which they met to exchange papers or to attend the Queen.

'In the great room above-mentioned, was a long hall, sufficient to hold all the Commissioners for both kingdoms, being about 50 feet in length. At the head of the table, under a canopy, was placed a large chaire, orna-

mented with gold lace and crimsone velvet, for the Queen, when she desired to come amongst us. On her left hand sat the Chancellor of Scotland, and on her right hand the Keeper of the Great Seal, the L[d] Cooper, afterwards Chancellor of England. The Queen came amongst us three several times, once at our first or second meeting, to acquaint us of her intention and ardent good wishes for our success and unanimity in this great Transaction. At about a month thereafter she came again to enquire of our success, and had most of our minutes read to her, and the last time to approve of what we had done.'

Anne, it may be remembered, was the last sovereign who personally presided at a Council. Clerk had opportunities of seeing her upon less formal occasions, when on attendance upon his friend and patron the Duke of Queensberry, at the Palace of Kensington. She thus impressed him :—

'One day I had occasion to observe the Calamities which attend humane nature even in the greatest dignities of Life. Her majesty was labouring under a fit of the Gout, and in extreme pain and agony, and on this occasion every thing about her was much in the same disorder as about the meanest of her subjects. Her face, which was red and spotted, was rendered something frightful by her negligent dress, and the foot affected was tied up with a pultis and some nasty bandages. I was much affected at this sight, and the more *when she had occasion to mention her people of Scotland*, which she did frequently to the Duke. What are you, poor mean like Mortal, thought I, who talks in the style of a Sovereign? Nature seems to be inverted when a poor infirm Woman becomes one of the Rulers of the World, but, as Tacitus observes, it is not the first time that Women have governed in Britain, and indeed they have sometimes done this to better purpose than the Men.'

The work of the Commissioners over, Clerk returned to Scotland, and was nominated one of the 45 members to represent Scotland in the first Parliament of Great Britain. In the spring of 1707 he formed one of the retinue of the Duke in his triumphal progress south. It is noteworthy that the pomp and ceremony only began at the border, for the journey through Scotland was performed privately. But through England Queensberry 'was complimented and feasted wherever he went, and when he came within 20 miles of London the whole city turned out to meet him.' The Ministry of England, with 46 coaches and above 1000 horsemen, joined him at Barnet. Clerk was one of the few Scots Commissioners, 'not above half a dussan,' who were

present on the occasion when 'a very numerous procession accompanied the Queen to the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's, at least 3 or 400 coaches.' He remarks, 'on this occasion I observed a real joy and satisfaction in the citizens of London, for they were terribly apprehensive of confusion from Scotland in case the Union had not taken place.'

The last duty which he was called upon to perform as a member of Parliament, was in connection with the money equivalent stipulated to Scotland under the 18th article of the Treaty. On this occasion he received the thanks of the Bank of England directors. The Union had led to the formation of a Scottish Court of Exchequer, and Clerk's financial skill was rewarded by a seat in the new tribunal at the early age of thirty-two. The salary was £500 sterling, and there was something like nine months vacation in the year, so, as he says, 'nothing could be better calculated for my humure than the office I enjoyed. I had a great deal of time on my hands, and this I always spent to my own satisfaction.' When he went to do homage upon his appointment, he had another opportunity of observing the unfortunate Queen.

'I cannot remember this incident without making this reflection, as I have done before, that tho' this great Queen had in her short reign, I mean to the year I saw her, made a very glorious figure in Europe by her Armes and Fleets abroad, and even in bringing about the union of the two Kingdoms, which could never be accomplished by any of her predecessors, tho' she was in all respects Arbitrix of peace and war in Europe, and by her sovereign Authority held the Balance of Power in her hands, yet at the time I was introduced to her to receive her commands for Scotland,—she appeared to me the most despicable mortal I had ever seen in any station. The poor Lady, as I saw her twice before, was again under a severe fit of the Gout, ill dressed, blotted in her countenance, and surrounded with plaisters, cataplasims, and dirty-like rags. The extremity of her pain was not then upon her, and it diverted her a little to see company with whom she was not to use ceremonies, otherways I had not been allowed access to her. However, I believe she was not displeased to see any body, for no Court Attenders ever came near her. All the Incence and adoration offered at Courts were to her Ministers, particularly the Earl of Godolphin, her chief Minister, and the two Secretaries of State, her palace of Kensington, where she commonly resided, was a perfect solitude, as I had occasion to observe several times. I never saw any body attending there but so
of her Guards in the outer Rooms, with one at most of the (

her Bedchamber. Her frequent fits of sickness, and the distance of the place from London, did not admit of what are commonly called Drawing-Room nights, so that I had many occasions to think that few Houses in England belonging to persons of Quality were keept in a more privat way than the Queen's Royal Palace of Kensington.'

When settled again in Scotland, he for a second time contemplated matrimony. He mentions one of the young ladies under his consideration as 'a light-headed Beauty.' This is supposed to have been Susanna Kennedy, afterwards Countess of Eglinton, who in her extreme old age met Samuel Johnson, and in a playful way adopted him as her son upon its being discovered that she was old enough to have been his mother. Clerk ended by marrying Janet Inglis of Cramond, by whom he had a family of sixteen children.

The remaining part of these Memoirs consists for the most part of the annals of a very quiet life prolonged to a good old age and well spent, broken in upon, however, by several events of great public importance which receive due notice. But the private life of the author is far from lacking in interest. He is a specimen of the highest, because the most useful class of country gentlemen. A recent writer in *Blackwood* has given a graphic description of our agricultural and social condition in the last century. We owe it largely to men of Sir John Clerk's stamp that the century marked a steady if slow advancement, and had every laird done for his estate what was done for the barony of Penicuik, a much more rapid change for the better would have affected the whole land. Of March 1708 he records that, 'About this time he fell exceedingly into the humure of planting and making of nurseries.' He continued in it all his life, and the bare bleak slopes of Penicuik afforded abundant scope for his energies. His father survived until 1722, but long before that date the son had been wisely entrusted with the management of the estate. His first plantation was near the Esk, 'at an old coal hole on the Brae—to which, from Don Quixote's cave, he gave the name of Montesina's Cave.' His references to subsequent plantations are numerous, in spite of obstacles, for in 1740 he writes, 'Hitherto I have found that our Scotch tenants are so far from understanding or encouraging Inclosures, that they take all the pains in the

world to destroy them.' His forefathers had been content to have, lying almost at their hall door, a stretch of waste, half bog, half peat moss. But under his directions this became a pond, and is at the present time one of the greatest ornaments of the place. To convert a black and dismal morass into a beautiful sheet of water, reflecting richly wooded banks, or an ugly remnant of ancient mining into a romantic cave—such were the acts in which he delighted. Among his curious medley of papers which are still preserved, is the draft of a charming letter written in Latin, and intended to convey to his friend Boerhaave some idea of the writer's home and surroundings. It has been rendered into appropriate English by Mr. T. G. Law of the Signet Library. The happy light in which Clerk saw all that was about him make him declare that there is no 'part, however swampy, which has not its use, for the moors are suited for sport.' There was abundance of animal life, and 'all these animals and birds I regard in the light of neighbours; and to speak my own mind, I think nothing more conduces to the tranquility and charm of a country house than the fact that one sees (with the exception of one's farmers and servants) nothing in the neighbourhood but flocks and cattle and birds. The society of men, however useful and pleasant, is fitted for the town rather than the country.' Again, he writes:—'Here is the most profound and undisturbed ease. There is no need to sport fine clothes, no neighbour calls, and all things gives rest and quiet. Here I have lived from my cradle. There is not a corner, not a tree, not a stream which has not been witnesses of my juvenile studies and games.' Building was another passion, or as he would have called it, pastime, of the Baronet. The small but ornate mansion of Mavisbank, near Lasswade, is a specimen of his architectural ideas, and strongly characteristic of his age—that, be it remembered, of the Adams. The present formal and classic Penicuik house was not his work, but would doubtless have been considered by him an improvement upon the picturesque irregular old Scottish chateau which his grandfather repaired in 1666, when 'being dressed up with two Battlements covered with lead, it became the best house of the Shire.' He did what few heritors would do, save by compulsion, then or now—built a steeple for the Church and an aisle

for his tenants. These various undertakings he sought to justify on the score of duty. 'For I received yearly about £500 ster. of the King's money, so I seemed to be under an obligation to bestow a good part of it on his subjects.' His theory of political economy, a comfortable one for a wealthy man, taught him that the poor must always live by the prodigality and extravagance of the rich; 'for if all the world were as frugal as by her dictates of good economy they ought to be, the half of mankind would starve.'

Life at Penicuik was of course varied by official attendance in Edinburgh, or by summer excursions for the benefit of health, when the family were 'carried' to drink goat whey on the banks of Loch Lomond, or Loch Earn, or mineral waters at the Moffat wells. Ladies of rank in those days did not go far afield, but on one occasion Lady Clerk and her daughter made a trip into England the length of Carlisle, 'where they had the pleasure to see a Cathedral, and to hear the Church music there, which was all they wanted.' There came a day, however, when her ladyship had to cross the border under less agreeable circumstances. This was in the '45, when the rebels had come unpleasantly near. At the period of the earlier and less formidable rebellion of 1715, Clerk was in the prime of life, and had his duties to perform as a deputy lieutenant. He was one of those accordingly who marched with the Duke of Argyle to within 300 paces of the rebels, then in possession of Leith fort, and having found even its half ruined ramparts too strong for prudent attack, 'were obliged to return to the town in a very disconsolate manner.' In 1745 he was getting old, and from his position might have proved a tempting object of detention. When therefore for a second time the skirl of the pipes was heard approaching Edinburgh, Sir John, with his wife and daughter, fled south from Mavisbank, leaving at Penicuik house a detachment of his family and servants. The first resting place was with the minister of Makerston, near Kelso, where they received the far from encouraging news of the defeat at Prestonpans of the Royal troops commanded by Cope, described as 'a little dressy finical man,' who had 'already devoured the Rebels in his imagination.' Such news determined a flight still further south. On the border there arrived a

fugitive regiment of dragoons. 'As many of their officers came to lodge under us in the same house, we thought Hell had broken louse, for I never heard such oaths and imprecations, branding one another with cowardice and neglect of duty.' At Newcastle they found the town 'in such a terrible consternation that if the Rebels had followed their blow I believe this important city had surrendered to them.' Durham formed their place of exile for six weeks, and here they felt sufficiently safe to enjoy excursions in the neighbourhood, and Lady Clerk had perhaps again the opportunity of hearing Church music at York. The only fear seemed to be lest the strong army now marching north under Field Marshal Wade should spoil the roads for their own subsequent journey.

Everywhere there was evidence that a 'most terrible pawnick had possessed all the people to that degree that many rich people about Newcastle, Durham, and York, had sent a great deal of their effects to Holland and Hamburg, and all their silver plate, jewels, money, and such like domestic necessaries were hid under ground, so that I had left England and returned to Scotland before these things appeared again. We did the same in Scotland, and I am afraid that many of us lost in that manner what will never be supplied.' What the North of England feared, some in Scotland were already in a measure experiencing.

'The Highlanders were with difficulty keept in order, and in the Country many Robries were committed. They imposed contributions on the town of Edin. to the extent of about 6000 lib. ster., and uplifted the Cess whereever any was due. On privat Gentlemen they imposed contributions of Hay and Corns [*sic*] to a considerable valou. My impositions were 6000 stone of Hay and 76 bolls of oats, under pains of military Execution, which was understood to be the quartering of some Savage Highlanders upon us. As this denounciation frighted all our servants and Tenants, the contributions were readily paid, and the valou of my share in all amounted to about 200 lib. ster. But besides these impositions they quartered themselves frequently upon us and our Tenants, so that the Family I left at Penicuik was oblidged to entertain some of their Chiefs three several times, and frequently 16 or 20 at a time.'

When a sufficient Royalist force had gathered in the North, the fugitives found their way home. This rising must have been viewed by Sir John with mingled feelings of disgust and con-

tempt. Its success would have overthrown the policy which he had supported, and undone the good work of the Union. But its success was an impossibility, and the Jacobites 'poor short-sighted wrong-headed folks.' He afterwards thought he had discovered the secret of the insurrection, or at least of the support which it had received from Scottish lairds and chiefs.

'The care of the Forfeited Estates was committed to the Barons of the Exchequer, and in the management of these nothing appeared clearer than that most of all the proprietors were Bankrupts before they entered into the Rebellion. If they had got any thing to lose by their conduct, I have reasone to believe that they, or many of them, had not hazarded their persons and Estates in such a desperat schem, for nothing in life is less to be trusted than French promises and Highland Armies. The whole world knows the first by experience, and as to Highland Armies, 'tho they have Courage in abundance, yet their poverty and desire of plunder make them commonly retire home when they should keep the field.'

Sir John maintained through life his zeal for antiquities, and in particular, for classical antiquities. To some readers he may be known solely by his correspondence with Roger Gale and Dr. Stuckeley, two celebrated last century antiquaries. He himself became a member of the London Antiquarian Society, as also of the Royal. On the occasion of his rare and leisurely journeys south it is a visit to some rich collection, such as Sir Hans Sloan's, or the Earl of Pembroke's, which he delights to record. The English Roman wall was even the object of a special expedition. Nor were ancient relics nearer hand overlooked. He enters his solemn curse upon that laird of Stenhouse who usually gets the credit of having destroyed Arthur's Oon. He has a plea with his neighbour Sinclair of Roslin on behalf of the famous chapel then nearly roofless and likely to fall to ruins. How many a precious relic, now vanished or disfigured beyond remede, might have been spared had there been more men like-minded with Clerk.

In the matter of religion he was very typical of the period. He lived during that prolonged calm which followed upon the keen theological controversies of the 17th century in Scotland. His father, although a baronet of Charles the Second's creation, was under the influence of the ministers all his days, filled books with

notes of their sermons written in a wondrous small hand, and died in the act of reading one of their printed works. His son, while a man of religious principles, does not hesitate to record, 'I have, I think, no reasone to wish myself one bit more inclined to religion than I am. Enthousiastick notions, superstition and singularity in religious points are my utter aversion.' Writing of the Duke of Queensberry's tenants in the south of Scotland, he describes them as formerly very poor and not very honest, and great pretenders to religion of that kind which amongst the people of that country passes for the strictest kind, though generally it consists in no more than hearing of long sermons and prayers, and idling away their time on the sides of hills reading on books of controversy and Acts of the General Assemblies.' His brother-in-law, Alexander Moncrieff, the laird of Culfargie, and one of the first Secession ministers, troubled him much by his 'whims' and 'seceding scheme.' In a curious letter to Mr. Moncrieff, Sir John finds fault with Whitfield, and accuses him of losing eight millions of sixpences to the nation by inducing men to escape one day's work in the week 'gading after conventicles.' Although doubtless a good Christian, we suspect that he would have sooner gone for consolation in the view of misfortune or approaching old age to Seneca or Corneilus Celsus, or even to Horace, than to any of the religious writers over whose pages his father loved to pore. After describing the various improvements effected at Mavisbank, he devoutly adds, 'these are the gifts of God, and I commit them to His care.' Then there follows those exquisitely pathetic lines of Horace :—

> 'Liquenda tellus et domus et placens
> Uxor, neque harum, quas colis, arborum
> Te præter invisas cupressos
> Ulla brevem Dominum sequetur.'

His moderation had, however, more commendable aspects. Few eighteenth century lairds could record, 'I have not been any way intoxicated above twice at most these forty years, nor need I say I was intoxicated at any time.' This temperance he partly ascribes to a constitutional peculiarity, but 'nothing had more influence upon me than the character I bore as a judge, for I

always thought that no man lookt so poor, so contemptible and detestable as a drunken judge.' Hence 'it was then no wonder that I was never trubled with the least fit of the gout.' His habits also enabled him the more easily to pursue his favourite studies, 'having seldom given myself much truble with any company that came to see me. I never could drink, so that no body found themselves disappointed.' Note the curious light this last sentence throws upon the social characteristics of that period. Of his health he makes amusingly minute records, giving us the very age at which his teeth, 'these pins of my Earthly Tabernacle began at last to loosen and decay,' and the number retained in his head at the age of 72. Sometimes he mentions a cure for some ailments, such as 'Aple Tea,' recommended by the doctors at Bath for 'a cogh,' or broth with hartshorn in it, which he found most effective. Red scorbutic spots were removed by the Moffat waters. Another alarming disease left him when he ceased to drink the juice of raw oysters. He had his little excesses, but they were such as even Sir Wilfred Lawson would have pardoned. His last entry is, 'My distress was occasioned by eating too much cabage broth. *N.B.*, all greens affect me in the same way, and for the future must be avoided.'

There was but a short future in store for him when he wrote this; within a year he was laid to rest in the family vault beside the wife of his youth and their beloved son.

It only remains to add that these memoirs have been admirably edited by Mr. J. M. Gray, whose notes supply a vast amount of information. They have been further enriched by some interesting portraits.

W. G. Scott-Moncrieff.

Art. II.—THE EARLIEST AGES OF HEBREW HISTORY.

THE evidence of the great historic texts of the Kings of Assyria has confirmed the history of the Old Testament, as recorded in the Book of Kings, in so remarkable a manner as to

win general acceptance among all who have studied monumental records. Though minor difficulties as to date, generally not exceeding ten years, have, as would naturally be expected, been found, there is no longer any dispute as to the actual and contemporary rule of many of the Assyrian Kings, and of the Kings of Israel and of Judah named on the monuments. Omri, Jehu, Menahem, Pekah, and Hoshea of Israel; and Azariah, Ahaz, Hezekiah, and Manasseh of Judah, are mentioned in the cuneiform texts of their Assyrian contemporaries; and even the long doubted Pul of the Bible is found to have been an Assyrian ruler. But those who regard the Book of Genesis as only representing the traditions of an age hardly older than the Captivity, still look upon its historic statements, and on those of the Book of Joshua, as very doubtfully reliable. The progress of exploration in the East seems however to show that the more ancient records will, in time, be generally accepted as equally reliable with those of the later times of Hebrew independence. The object of the present paper is to draw attention to what has already been discovered in this matter.

Two new and very important sources of information have, within the last few years, been opened up for Orientalists, from which contemporary information of the highest value can be obtained. The one consists in the political correspondence accidentally discovered at Tell Amarna in Egypt, belonging to the 15th century B.C.: the other includes the Akkadian inscriptions found at Tell Loh by M. de Sarzek, the French Consul at Bassorah, which cannot be placed later than the 24th century B.C. In the one case we recover the history of Palestine itself, in the early age of the Hebrew Conquest. In the other we discover the civilization of Chaldea before the time of Abraham, and the trading relations of its rulers with Egypt, Ethiopia, Sinai, and Syria. In both cases it is clearly demonstrated that a very advanced civilization existed in Western Asia in these early ages, and that none of the statements of the early Hebrew literature can now be regarded as improbable or as anachronistic, since the populations of Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine are shown to have been rich and civilized, possessing the art of writing, engaging in peaceful commerce, and bound together by

the inter-marriage of the royal houses of Egypt, Armenia, Assyria and Babylon. Such conclusions it is now intended to establish in detail.

Even before these important discoveries were made, the labours of George Smith, and of other early students of cuneiform records, had resulted in conclusions which served to establish the reality of the statements contained in the Book of Genesis. Wherever and bywhomsoever penned, the tenth chapter of Genesis presents us with an ethnology which is fully in accord with monumental information. Three great races are therein noticed. The 'fair' people of the north, from the Caucasus to Ionia, who may well have been Aryans, since the Greeks and other Aryan tribes of Asia Minor are noticed in Egyptian records as early as the 14th century B.C.: the 'dark' race of Chaldea, Syria, and Egypt, who appear to have been Mongols, and who invaded Egypt at least as early as 2200 B.C.; and the 'brown' people of Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia and Elam, who spoke languages now grouped together as 'Semitic.' Differences of language, as well as of race, are clearly recorded in the chapter of Genesis in question, and the geographic area included represents the whole of the ancient civilized world, before the appearance of the Persians and Greeks—or in other words, before the destruction of the Assyrian Empire.

The date which has been ascribed to the first Hebrew immigration into Palestine, in the time of Abraham, has been variously calculated from the Old Testament chronology, according to the various readings of the versions, or to various understanding of their statements. According to Hales, the birth of Abraham should be placed about 2150 B.C., or according to Asher, 1996 B.C. Other calculations give 2260 B.C., which is more in accord with the Hebrew text, if we suppose the conquest of Palestine to have happened about 1480 B.C., which seems to be the natural deduction from recent discoveries in Egypt, though not in accord with the older views of Lepsius and Bunsen, which were however not founded on any monumental basis, but only on their understanding of the very doubtful statements of Manetho —an authority of the 3rd century B.C.

There is a very distinct statement in Genesis as to the con-

back to 3800 B.C.; but this later king appears to have been incorrectly informed, since he speaks of Kudur Nanhundi as living about 3200 B.C., whereas from other dates, his reign over Persia and Mesopotamia is believed to have been not earlier than 2800 B.C. Whatever be finally discovered as to these dates, it is abundantly clear that the Akkadian kings, Urbau, Dungi, and their successors, ruled at Ur and over all the south of Chaldea for many reigns before the Cassite Conquest. It is, however, about the time of Hammurabi that the Semitic people first appear on the page of history in Southern Babylonia. The earlier inscriptions are written in the Akkadian, or Mongol language of the first civilizers of Asia; but Hammurabi, in describing his restoration of the great Tigris Canal,* uses the Aramaic, which in later times became the common speech of Chaldea, Syria, and Palestine. Thus the monuments agree with Old Testament history as to the time when the Semitic race began to displace the older Mongol population of Western Asia.

If then the historic contemporaries of Abraham the Hebrew, are discoverable from their own monumental records, we may enquire further whether there is any reason to suppose that the power of Chaldean monarchs can be supposed, at so early a period, to have extended as far west as Palestine; and it is on this question that the Tell Loh texts cast light.

Tell Loh is an important ruined city, between the Tigris and the Euphrates, east of the ancient canal (now called *Khat el Hai*) which connects their streams south of Baghdad. The excavations carried on by de Sarzek for the French Government, in 1880-1881, led to the discovery of eight inscribed statues, not much less than life-sized, and carved of Sinaitic granite, which

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* This canal, which Hammurabi says he 'restored,' by rebuilding its banks, and erecting a 'great wall with much earth, its top raised like a mountain,' had probably been destroyed by one of the great floods to which the lower part of Mesopotamia was subject. That such a flood had recently occurred is shewn by various tablets which are dated as 'in the year when *Mullias* (as G. Smith reads the name of the city) was destroyed by a great flood.' Other tablets are dated from the year in which Hammurabi built 'a great wall along the Tigris.' See *Transactions Society, Biblical Archæology*, Vol. I., pp. 59-60.

stood in the great central court of the very ancient palace on the citadel-mound, which here rises forty feet above the plain, which is strewn with the remains of the surrounding city.* The inscriptions are incised on the robes of the statues, in very archaic characters, reading from right to left in horizontal lines, but with the syllables of the words placed (as in the Hittite inscriptions) vertically in the line. About 130 emblems in all are used in the writing, and these texts represent the oldest and the longest Akkadian inscriptions as yet found. The general subject is that of the building of temples, by the pious kings Urbau and Dungi, and by Gudea Prince of Zirgul, during the reign of the latter. The old name of Tell Loh ('the hill of the tablet') was Zirgul, and this survives to the present day at the place called *Zirghul*, in the neighbourhood of the ruined city.

The inscriptions have been studied by several well known scholars; by Dr. Oppert and the late M. Amiaud in France, by Dr. Hommel in Germany, and by Mr. Pinches of the British Museum in England. There is difference of opinion as to the rendering of some passages, but those which follow, and which are here translated from the original, are rendered in much the same manner by the various translators. The statue whence they are taken was that of Gudea, the prince who restored the ancient pyramid temple here built by Urbau, and who enclosed it in the palace, on the bricks of which his name so frequently occurs. The city continued to be inhabited down to the time of the Greek successors of Alexander, and some traces of their work remain; but it is undisputed that its main buildings belong to the builders above named, who lived not later than 2300 B.C., or before the date given for Abraham in the Bible.

'I,' says Gudea, 'made the lordly temple of the God who enlightens the darkness. I have made his abode the chosen chief city of his faith. Of costly woods I made it for him. What time I made the temple of the Lord of the pyramid, beloved of the King, I held possession from the upper to the lower sea. With wood from Lebanon (Amanus), wood of seventy and fifty cubits, I raised its roof twenty-five cubits high.'

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* Découvertes en Chaldeé Par E. de Sarzek, Paris, 1887. The statues are now in the Louvre.

'I used gold dust on the pillars, brought from Mount *Khakum*. I made the porch of the temple with gold from the land of Upper Egypt (*Meroe*). I made beams of the wood cut and brought green from the wood-cutting regions of Ethiopia (*Gubin*). I made the foundation of the temple with bitumen, from the river of Gomer in the Median country. I brought stones in ships from the inland mountain of Bossippa. For the building of the lordly temple, I wrought with strong stone from the Minyan mountain of the Samalli, and from Musalla, a mountain of Phœnicia. I made the Court of the lordly temple thereof. From the mountain of Canaan (*Tidalum*) in Phœnicia, I brought slabs of marble. I made the foundation, and sank the bolts of the temple doors therein. From the great pass (*Bab Khurra*) of the (silver?) mountain I dug copper. I made indestructible pillars thereof. I caused strong wood to be brought from Upper Egypt from the fortress of Zoan.'

'Strong stone being brought from Sinai (*Magan*) I made an image therewith: that my name may be remembered gloriously I have said all this. I give the image of Gudea a voice and it says, "To-day he has finished this lordly temple, the temple of his abode." To him who knows not, in future times, for many generations, men shall speak of the prince: of this lordly temple: of the Lord of the pyramid, its master: of its building: long celebrating its fame.'

'An image which yields neither silver, nor onyx, nor copper, nor tin, nor bronze, no man will demand as spoil—made of hard stone may it remain in the place thereof. The violator, the man who takes away from this lordly temple, and from the land, the image of Gudea, the man who sits in the presence of the God—the image of Gudea, prince of Zirgul, who built this lordly temple of the God—the man whose hand defaces the writing of the name—to take away and possess—that man my God shall reject.'

'For him let (the Gods) write an adverse fate. Let the warrior slay in his time: let the power of the people rise as a whirlwind. Sitting as a slave—the man who does so to me—let him sit in the dust. Let him go forth to hear rejection of his honoured name. Let his name be smitten by the Gods: the Gods overwhelming his name. Let the wind of God destroy before his eyes; let the waters destroy the land. Let the child born to him become an evil name, springing from his name. Let the light of God's glory be dark in the dwelling of that man—looked on as a foe of men. May Istar and the Sun, accomplishing this, shew the people their power.'

There is perhaps in ancient history no more tremendous curse than that recorded by Gudea, against any who should move his statue. The Assyrian Kings in late ages recorded their blessing on any who should restore, and their curse on any who overthrew

their work. The Phœnician King—Eshmunazar of Sidon—also left his curse (about 250 B.C.) against any violator of his sarcophagus; and the Lycians not only devoted to the infernal gods (about 400 B.C.) any who buried strangers in their tombs, but also condemned them to pay a fine to the family. But the curse of Gudea is more terrible than any inscribed in later times. Unfortunately the modern discoverer, who transported the statue to France, was unable to read the text; and it is to be hoped that Gudea's ghost may take this fact into consideration.

The interest of the passages from this lengthy text, so translated, lies in the wide extension of peaceful relations with surrounding countries which we thus discover. In another passage we read further—

'In memory of the conquest of Anzan I devoted the spoil to the God of the pyramid and to the lordly temple.'

In another text on a statue of the same prince we find the words:

'Full of glory, throughout the width of the land, I being supreme master, there is rest for the country of this people. And there being rest in the land I have made the lordly temple of the God who gives light in darkness.'

While on a third statue is written:—

'The foundation of my power being strong in the East, I have built this temple north of the shrine, which rises in the land of Erech.'

These passages shew that the Akkadians had at that time prevailed over the early inhabitants of Persia (Anzan), and had welded a Chaldean Kingdom.

The various places mentioned in this record of a great building period may with advantage be further considered, especially as concerning the derivation of the granite blocks of which the statues are made. The whole of the ancient civilized world is covered by the description, and the extent of the Akkadian rule is said to have been from the upper to the lower sea, or apparently from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean, near the northern Lebanon. Anzan, or the Persian region which Cyrus afterwards ruled, before his conquest of the Medes (as monumentally recorded) was the eastern limit. On the north we hear of Media, and the river Gumru or Gomer, which was apparently the

Cimmerian region near the Caucasus. The Minyan Kingdom extended west of Lake Van towards Syria and Cilicia, and the Minyans or *Men*, mentioned in an Egyptian text as living east of Syria, were one of the foreign races who about this same time invaded Egypt, and ruled the delta as 'Shepherd Kings.' They also, as their portraits at Boulak assure us, belonged to the sturdy Mongol stock; and their language was still a Mongol dialect in 1500 B.C., and later. The 'great pass,' which later Assyrian scribes explain to mean 'the gate of Syria,' was probably the modern *Beltân* or Pylæ Syriæ, close to the famous battlefield of Issus, and not far from the silver and copper mines of the Taurus.

The notice of marble and precious wood (cedar, according to M. Amiaud) brought from Lebanon and Phœnicia, shews us that the Akkadians had penetrated westwards to the Mediterranean; but the granite (diorite) of the statues is pronounced by geologists to be Sinaitic, and comes from the country of *Ma-gan*, according to the inscription. The name of this country means the 'ship-enclosure,' or 'port,' and a port on the Red Sea near Suez seems to be intended, for Magan is often mentioned in later inscriptions, and always in connection with Egypt. The famous Chaldean monarch, Sargina, who has been supposed to have reigned about 1700 B.C. (though tradition places his date much earlier) ruled over four races, and conquered Babylonia and all the country as far as the 'Western Sea;' and his son Naramsin conquered Magan. If then it was from Sinai that the ships of Gudea brought granite, it would appear that it must have been carried down the Red Sea to Aden, and round Arabia up the Persian Gulf to the mouth of the Euphrates.

In all probability the great canal, joining the Euphrates and the Tigris, was already made, for Hammurabi speaks of 'restoring' such a canal somewhat later in the history of Chaldea. Thus the granite could have been carried by water to within a few miles of the palace at Zirgul; but we are not the less astonished at the length of the sea passage, undertaken for such an object in this early age.

The trade with Egypt (Zoan Meroe and Chub, or Ethiopia, being all clearly mentioned) was for gold dust and wood. In a

later age, about 1500 B.C., we find the kings of Syria and Asia-Minor also sending copper, and other products of their own country, to Egypt in exchange for gold; and about 1320 B.C., Rameses II. obtained gold from the mines of Ethiopia south of Upper Egypt. About the time of Gudea the Egyptians were mining in Sinai for copper, and it was from them probably that the Akkadians obtained the granite of that region.

In the ruins of Tell Loh the use of bitumen is found in all parts of the foundations, and ancient blocks of marble and alabaster occur—with inscriptions of the earliest period—as well as fragments of copper, and small bronze idols buried under the floor of the great court. This seems to confirm Gudea's statements that he plated his pillars with copper, and covered the temple gate with silver, while he also refers to bronze in his inscription as distinct from copper. The manufacture of bronze in Chaldea is thus carried back to at least the 24th century B.C., and all the precious metals appear to have been known—iron alone being unnoticed.

Monumental evidence seems therefore to shew the high antiquity of the Mongol civilization, and its very early extension to the shores of the Mediterranean and of the Red Sea. There is evidence of early expeditions, both warlike and peaceful; and Sargina set up his statue on the shores of the Western Sea, while his son conquered Sinai; and, yet earlier than the supposed date of Abraham, the invading tribes of Armenia, who subdued lower Egypt, must have marched down the Syrian coast. The expedition of Chedorlaomer thus becomes historically probable, on other grounds than that of its mention in the Bible, especially as it appears to have coincided with a period of Babylonian Conquest.

On the topography of Chedorlaomer's march recent discoveries have also thrown new light. This Elamite monarch, like the Kudur Nanhundi of the inscription of Assurbanipal, who 'oppressed the Akkadians,' appears to have been the master of Mesopotamia, or at least allied to its ruler Amraphel. He is said (Gen. xiv., 5) to have marched to the land of Ham, and to Ashteroth Karnaim in Bashan, and thence to the Valley of Kirjathaim (probably Kirjathaim of Moab, now *Kureiyât*, between

Dibon and Medeba) whence he advanced to Mount Seir; and crossing over into the desert of Kadesh he returned northwards by Hazezon Tamar (Engedi) and fell upon the Jericho plains. The subsequent pursuit (verse 15) by Abraham and his Hittite allies extended to Hobah north of Damascus.

Till quite recently nothing was known of either Hobah or the land of Ham, but the Tell Amarna letters mention both these regions. Letters addressed to Amenophis III., about 1480 B.C., by subject chiefs of the Southern Lebanon and of Bashan, occur in this correspondence, which describe the great Hittite invasion of Damascus about that time. Aidugama, the Hittite King of Kadesh on the Orontes (now Kades, south of Emesa) advanced along the Baalbek plains, and attacked the land of Hobah, and reached Damascus by the 'great pass' of the river Abana on the north. He subsequently invaded the land of *Am*, and took various cities in Bashan near Ashteroth Karnaim. From these notices it appears that Hobah was the region north of Damascus; and the land of Am or Ham was northern Bashan. The line of the ancient raid of Chedorlaomer thus becomes quite clear. He probably crossed the Euphrates at Carchemish, and advanced along the same route which the Assyrians followed much later when invading Edom. The mountain chains were all avoided, and the road followed was that of the famous pilgrim route from Damascus to Akabah on the Red Sea; but the furthest point reached by the Elamites was near Petra, and the return march led up the Jordan Valley, and perhaps across Hermon, to Hobah in the southern part of the Baalbek plains. All the districts named occur therefore in geographical sequence.

The great age of the Akkadian supremacy thus appears to have coincided with that of the rule of the foreign kings called *Men* or Minyans, in Egypt; and the first blow aimed at their power was dealt by Ahmes, the first Nubian King of the 18th dynasty, who conquered the Delta and drove back the Asiatics. In the Old Testament we find the Hittites, who were a tribe of this same great Mongol race, living as far south as Hebron; and some scholars have supposed that this account does not agree with the monumental notices, which place the Hittites in Northern Syria. A little consideration of the known facts will

however shew that there is no discrepancy at all. In the Book of Joshua, and in all later books, the 'Land of the Hittites' is said to have been in Syria, and they are never noticed as living in Palestine itself. They are not among the tribes (Amorites, Canaanites, Hivites, etc.,) noticed in the south, in connection with Joshua's wars, and are only noticed in Hebron in Abraham's time, many centuries before the Hebrew Conquest. In all probability they retreated northwards as the Egyptian power increased, and during the time of the conquests of Thothmes III., who defeated them about 1600 B.C., at Megiddo in Lower Galilee.

The political history of Palestine, as drawn from monumental sources, appears therefore, down to the time of the Hebrew Conquest, to have included two distinct periods—the first being that of Mongol domination, during which tribes of Semitic race, continually increasing in numbers, but living to a great extent in a pastoral condition, pushed southwards from the fords of the Euphrates at Carchemish. Among these tribes must be included the Amorites, who, as we now learn from the Tell Amarna letters, spoke and wrote an Aramaic language; the early Phœnicians who, according to their own traditions, came from the head of the Persian Gulf; and the Hebrews, who according to the Bible migrated from Ur in Southern Chaldea, to Harran in Northern Mesopotamia, and thence to Palestine. Side by side with this Semitic population the Mongols were represented by the Hittites,* who in language and physical type were quite distinct.

This first period of immigration into Palestine coincided with the Hyksos Conquest of Egypt, and with Akkadian maritime expeditions to Sinai. It came to an end in 1700 B.C., when the Egyptian conquests began in the south; and after

* Mr. Halevy has recently denied that the Hittites were Non-Semitic, and has claimed that his contention is supported by the discovery of an inscription in Northern Syria. This inscription is in an Aramaic dialect and script, and dates about 750 B.C. It is by a prince called Panammu, but there is not only no reason to suppose that he was a Hittite, but every reason to think that he was not. He is noticed in an Assyrian text as Prince of the Samalli (perhaps 'northeners') who lived near Antioch, and who are probably the Samalli of the inscription of Gudea mentioned above.

the great battle of Megiddo, in 1600 B.C., the whole of Syria, and all the plains of Western Palestine and of Bashan, became subject to the Egyptians. They remained so subject for nearly two centuries, until the closing years of the reign of Amenophis III., when the great rebellion, concerning which the Tell Amarna letters give us such full information, broke out in the north, and spread gradually over the whole of Syria and Palestine.

Very little is known of the history of Chaldea after the Cassite Conquest, until the time of Amenophis III., but it appears from one of the Tell Amarna letters that friendly relations had existed between *Assur-nadin-akhi*, one of the earliest Assyrian kings about 1550 B.C., and his Egyptian contemporary —apparently Amenophis II.* Somewhat later than this (about 1475 B.C., according to George Smith) the boundary line between Assyria and Babylonia was drawn by *Assur-bel-nisisu* of Assyria, and *Karaindas* of Babylon; but the dates of this history are not very exactly fixed as yet.

In the latter part of the reign of Amenophis III., the name of the King of Babylon was *Kurigalzu*, who was succeeded by his son, *Burnaburias* the contemporary of Amenophis IV. A letter from the latter Babylonian monarch, found in Egypt, distinctly states that the Canaanite rebellion broke out in the time of Kurigalzu, who, being allied by marriage to the Pharaoh, refused to assist the rebels. The relations of Egypt

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* Dr. Hommel believes that the Assyrians were the first to separate from the main Semitic stock; but the monumental information available shews that the language of Assyria and of Babylonia was the same, about 1500 B.C., that was spoken throughout Syria and Palestine, even as far south as Lachish; and the Assyrians play a minor part in the history of that age, being only recently established as independent. The evidence of language seems to shew that the Hebrews, whose speech differed from that of the Amorites, Moabites, and Mesopotamians, were probably the first to leave the ancestral home, and must have long been isolated from the rest. Dr. Hommel also appears to believe in a remote connection between Assyrians and Egyptians, which was long ago pointed out by Dr. Birch and by Lenormant, and which there is very strong reason to regard as proveable. The grammar and vocabulary of Egyptian and Aramaic are closely connected, and the oldest Asiatic emigrants were probably the Egyptians.

with Assyria and Babylon were not cut off by the revolt, for in the same great collection there are later letters to Amenophis IV., written by *Assur-ubalid*, King of Assyria, whose date has been placed as late as 1400 B.C., and by Burnaburias, who was allied to Amenophis IV. by marriage. The latter (as was discovered more than twenty years ago) wedded the daughter of Assur-ubalid, by whom he had a son, *Kara Khardas*, who succeeded him, but who was murdered by a Cassite usurper named *Nazi bugas*, who in turn was overthrown by the Assyrians, who replaced the dynasty of their kinsman. These notices carry down the history of Chaldea and Assyria to the time of the 19th Dynasty of Egyptian monarchs, who reasserted their power in Palestine and Syria for a time, while Rameses II. held Galilee, and after defeating the Hittites of Kadesh, marched to the vicinity of Ephesus, where his cartouche has been found.

It appears however from the Tell Amarna letters that the Egyptians met with very serious reverses, during the latter part of the reign of Amenophis III., and during that of his son, the last King of the 18th dynasty. The story of the revolts which then occurred may be pieced together, from the information given by the various correspondents, who wrote from all parts of Syria, Armenia, Assyria and Babylonia, and Southern Asia Minor, as well as from Northern and Southern Palestine. The letters of the Egyptian subjects in Phœnicia and Canaan have all the same burden: they record the inroads of the Hittites and Amorites in the north, and of the tribe of the *Abiri* or *Habiri* in the south: they appeal for reinforcements from Egypt, and they make it quite clear that the Egyptian forces had, for some unknown reason, been withdrawn from all parts of the Syrian coast.

In this correspondence Dusratta, the King of Armenia, plays a very important part. His letters are in some cases the longest in the collection of the Tell Amarna tablets, and the longest of all is in his own Mongol dialect, whereas, the others, which he directs to both Amenophis III. and Amenophis IV., are in Aramaic. His sister *Gilukhepa*, daughter of his father, *Suttarna*, married Amenophis III.; and his own daughter,

Tadukhepa, was afterwards married to Amenophis IV. He appears to have been a faithful friend of the Egyptians throughout his reign, as was also his father before him, and his grandfather, Sitatama.

Under these circumstances it is somewhat puzzling, at first, to find that the King of Armenia was one of the chief allies who took part with the Hittites, the Cassites, and the Amorites, in the great rebellion against Egypt; but this is explained by Dusratta's earliest letter, from which it appears that Suttarna, his father, was killed by Artasumara, his brother, who seized the throne. This brother, Dusratta, in turn defeated and killed, and then attacked and defeated the Hittites, and over-ran the north of Syria, immediately re-establishing the old alliance with Egypt, and sending one of the Hittite chiefs whom he captured as a slave, with other presents, to Amenophis III. This letter includes also a greeting to his sister, Gilukhepa. It appears therefore that the great rebellion must have coincided with the usurpation of the Armenian throne by the parricide, Artasumara, which accounts for the temporary alliance of the Armenians with the enemies of Egypt.

The Cassites or Cosseans, who are mentioned as allied with the Hittites in this war, and whose King, Hammurabi, has already been mentioned in an earlier age, appear to be the Cushites of the Old Testament, whose famous hero, Nimrod,* founded a kingdom in southern Babylonia, and afterwards extended his conquests northwards to Assyria according to the Book of Genesis (x. 9-11). According to the Biblical account he was not of Semitic race, but of the same original stock with the Hittites and other Canaanite tribes. The little that is known of the Cassite language—as deduced from the names of various Cassite kings—has led scholars to suppose that it was an Akkadian dialect, which accords with the statements of the Old Testament; and it was therefore not unnatural that

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* The name of Nimrod has not been found on any monument yet discovered. If it is a Semitic word it means 'the rebel,' but not impossibly it may be Akkadian.

the Cassites should enter into alliance with their Hittite and Armenian kinsmen, who had so mightily opposed the great conquerer Thothmes III. The Semitic Babylonians on the other hand, and the Semitic Assyrians, appear to have been always friendly to the eighteenth dynasty of Egypt, to which they were allied by marriage. The Hittites, who maintained their independence of Egypt down to a very late period, were hereditary enemies of the great Nubian family, until the marriage of Rameses II. to a Hittite princess, when an alliance on equal terms was brought about. Out of the 300 letters found at Tell Amarna, only one is from a Hittite prince, and this is written, not in any Semitic language, but in an Akkadian dialect. The Semitic Phœnicians of Gebal, Tyre, Sidon, Beirut and Accho, and the Semitic Kings of southern Palestine (apparently Amorites) appear on the other hand, throughout the correspondence, as subjects or allies of Egypt. The only Semitic tribes that joined in the rebellion were the Amorites of the northern Lebanon, and the *Abiri* in the Judean mountains. The latter, however, were apparently quite independent, and are never mentioned in connection with the other allies.

The great Hittite rebellion broke out in the lifetime of Amenophis III., as is clearly deducible from the statements contained in three different letters, although in most cases the name of the Pharaoh is not mentioned by the correspondents. The history of the successful wars of these northern tribes appears to have been somewhat as follows.

Warning was sent to Egypt by the Amorite chieftain Aziru, that an alliance had been formed by Armenians, Cassites and Hittites, and that the latter were advancing on Tunep (now Tennib), an important Amorite town, north-west of Aleppo. It would seem that the allies persuaded Aziru to join them, and though he protested his fidelity to Egypt, he was accused of having received a Hittite ambassador, and apparently of refusing to receive an Egyptian envoy. Soon after he attacked the city of Simyra in Phœnicia, and took it, slaughtering or driving out an Egyptian garrison. The Amorite advance then continued along the Phœnician coast, and one

by one the cities were taken. A fleet from Arvad defeated the fleets of Beirut and Sidon, and cut off the fugitives from Gebal who were sailing to Egypt. After a stout resistance of some five years or more Gebal itself was besieged, and probably taken; and the Arvadite fleet blockaded Tyre, which city also Aziru appears to have attacked. After the capture of Sidon he was proclaimed a rebel by the Egyptian envoy Khanni, but there is nothing to shew that any reinforcements were despatched from Egypt, to assist the Phœnician chieftains in the various great cities.

About the same time a parallel movement of the Hittites of Kadesh on Orontes took place, the leader being Aidugama, King of that city, whose name appears to mean 'the conquering chief' in the Hittite language. One of the great stations, connecting Damascus with the shore cities Sidon and Beirut, was Kamid at the south end of the Baalbek plain; and several letters are written by the chief of that place, who commanded a force of chariots. The Hittites overran the plain, and destroyed the towns between Kadesh and Damascus. Marching down the great pass of the Abana river, through the land of Hobah, they fell on Damascus; but it is not clear whether they captured that city. They appear, however, to have pushed on to the land of Am or Ham, and to have destroyed several cities in Bashan. It is also stated that this movement was concerted with Aziru the Amorite.

One very remarkable feature of the correspondence is the fact that none of the letters appear to come from central Palestine, and that there is no connection between the actors in the contemporary events in southern Palestine, and the allies who invaded the northern regions. That the events were contemporary, or nearly so, is shewn by the fact that the names of the Egyptian agents are the same. In north and south alike, we read of an Egyptian general named *Yankhamu*, and of another agent called *Suta*, and of a third envoy called *Khai*. The circumstances are also alike, since it appears that the Egyptian garrisons had quite recently been withdrawn, though the reason for this retreat is not stated. It is perhaps to be suspected that troubles had arisen in Egypt itself,

which were the primary cause of the rebellion; and it is generally supposed that Amenophis IV. lost his life in a rebellion, which put an end to the history of the eighteenth dynasty. Whatever was the reason, it seems clear that there was a general retreat from Syria; and the first kings of the nineteenth dynasty began their wars in the regions south of Palestine proper, while Rameses II. was obliged to besiege Ascalon, before he could advance to Galilee and to Syria.

In the letters found at Tell Amarna which are written by rulers of the southern cities, such as Joppa, Jerusalem, Ascalon, etc., there is no notice of any of the leaders of the northern rebellion, such as Aziru, Aidugama, and others; nor is there any mention of Armenians, Hittites or Amorites from the north. Instead ot these foes, the correspondents complain of a desert people coming from the land of Seir, whom they call the *'Abiri.* These invaders attacked Jerusalem, and fought at Zilu (or Shiloh): they seized the country round Ajalon and Zorah: they reduced Ascalon and Lachish and Keilah: they wrecked the temples, and slaughtered the chieftains who were subservient to Egypt. It has been proposed to render this word *Abiri* or *Habiri* as 'allies;' and they have been regarded as Babylonians in spite of the categorical statement, already mentioned, that the Babylonians refused to assist the Canaanite revolt. The name *Abiri* is clearly that of a tribe or people who came from Seir, and it is evident that the identification with the Hebrews (or *'Abiri*) is natural, and is consistent with their independent action, and with their advance on Jerusalem from the 'Land of Seir,' which is not a region from which any northern nation would have come. It appears inevitable that we should conclude that the historical event, to which these letters from Jerusalem refer, is the invasion of Palestine by the Hebrews.*

The date of Joshua's invasion has been variously estimated by different chronologists. Hales placed it as early as 1608

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* I am informed that the identification of the 'Abiri as Hebrews has been proposed by Dr. H. Zimmern in Germany, apparently in Oct 1890. I was not aware of this when I published the s date 16th June of the same year.

B.C., and Usher as late as 1450 B.C. There is no improbability in its having occurred about the time of Amenophis III., in 1480 B.C., and with respect to the views of Lepsius and Bunsen, which would bring it down to somewhat later than 1300 B.C., all that need be said is that such a date is purely conjectural, and not founded on any monumental basis, since the Hebrews are not noticed in any Egyptian inscriptions as yet discovered. It is moreover impossible to reconcile such a date with any of the Biblical statements as to chronology.

The notice of the *Abiri* conquests, in the Tell Amarna letters, represents the first possible allusion to Hebrew history as yet known from monumental sources; and such evidence, when it agrees with Biblical chronology, ought to outweigh the speculations of students, who have preferred the inaccurate history of Manetho (dating from the third century B.C.) to the Old Testament narrative; especially when the detailed account of an advance from Seir to Ajalon, and of an incursion into the plains of Ascalon and Lachish, so entirely agrees with the narrative of the Book of Joshua. The conquest of Palestine occurred at a time when Egyptian power was for a time at its lowest ebb, and when revolutions of Hittites and Amorites were occurring in northern Syria. Such at least appears to me to be the legitimate deduction from monumental records; and the Old Testament chronicles are thus illustrated, not only in the later age of the Assyrian monarchy, but in the early times of Joshua, and in the yet more remote age of the first Hebrew immigration of the family of Abraham.

C. R. CONDER.

ART. III.—THE SCOTTISH PARAPHRASES.

HAVING in a former article (see *Scottish Review*, January, 1891) given an account of the origin and authorship of the metrical psalms used in the Scottish Churches from the Reformation downwards, we propose now to deal in a similar way with the Paraphrases of Scripture which have long formed a valuable

appendix to the Psalter of Francis Rouse. Scotland has, indeed, every reason to be proud of her Paraphrases, which express so well the better side of the Moderatism of the last century, and which did so much to dissolve the harsh, sour Calvinism that prevailed before their introduction into the Church. If one or two of them do not satisfy an exacting poetical taste, they are yet, as a whole, infinitely superior to the metrical psalms, whose rugged versification, uncouth forms of expression, and unmusical rhythm would long since have condemned them to oblivion but for the sentiment which continued use and sacred association have thrown around them. In the Paraphrases there was happily not the need to adhere so strictly to the words of the original that was supposed to be expedient in the case of the Psalter, and the result is that we have a collection of verse at once felicitous in expression and elevated in religious tone. How much the exquisite finish of the whole is due to the refining process can only be seen by following the various pieces from their first appearance in 1741 to their final publication in 1781. The hand of the literary tinker has not always held the pen of improvement, but the Paraphrases in passing under the file of successive revising committees have had their original angularities so smoothed down and their diction altogether so much altered for the better that, as we have them now, they are as near perfection as it would be possible to make them without entirely transforming their character. Some of the pieces have been criticised adversely, and not altogether without justice, if a comparison is to be made between the original language on which they are founded and the poetic result. But very few, even among the critics, know the difficulties attending this form of composition—how almost impossible it is to turn the words of the inspired writers into rhyme without diluting and enfeebling the original. As the author of 'The Minstrel' said to Dr. Blair last century, 'There is a simple majesty about the Bible prose which it is impossible for the best versifier on earth not to violate when he frames it to modern numbers.' Some of our best poets have attempted the task with but little success; and it is greatly to the credit of a body of men, most of whom are otherwise unknown in the annals of verse, that they should have succeeded in producing a collec-

tion that has not only formed a valuable vehicle of praise, both in the Church and in the home, but has become part of the standard literature of the country. The origin and history of such a collection—a collection which has entered so largely into the religious life of our people—can hardly be otherwise than interesting to the readers of a *Review* largely devoted to Scottish subjects; while a notice of the various authors whose productions are enshrined in its pages will recall to us the names of not a few worthy men who, it is to be feared, are now all but forgotten.

Although the metrical Psalter of Sternhold and Hopkins, and later, that of Francis Rouse, continued to be the only authorised vehicles of praise in the Church from the Reformation to the close of the eighteenth century, various efforts were made at different times to have the literary materials of the Church song extended. In our account of the early Scottish Psalter we have seen that some fourteen 'Spiritual Songs,' or versified renderings of selected portions of Scripture made their appearance as an appendix to the Psalter between the years 1575 and 1634. These 'Songs' do not seem to have received the formal sanction of the ecclesiastical courts, but there is not wanting evidence to show that some one in authority, either in Church or State, selected or revised those published by Bassandyne in his 1575 edition of the Psalter. Seven years before this, Bassandyne had been called to account for printing along with the Psalms a certain objectionable song called 'Welcome fortune,' and had been warned by the General Assembly to 'abstaine in all tyme comeing from further printing anything without license of the supreame magistrat, and revising of sic things as pertaine to religione be some of the Kirk appointit for that purpose.' This, together with the subsequent publication of the 'Songs,' would seem to indicate that no objections were entertained to appropriate additions being made to the Psalter under due authority and supervision. Whether these additions were ever really used to any extent in the Churches, it is impossible now to say. The singing of compositions even not strictly founded on Scripture was certainly a feature of the early Reformation movement, but the distinction between public and private use being pretty generally recognised, it would not be surprising that some things

intended for private instruction and edification only should, as a matter of convenience, be appended to the Psalter. At the same time, it is possible to say something in favour of the opinion that these Spiritual Songs were occasionally used in public worship. There is, for example, the fact that the Assembly of 1647 'doth recommend that Mr. Zachary Boyd be at the paines to translate the other Spiritual Songs in metre, and to report his travels also to the Commission of Assembly, that after their examination thereof they may send the same to Presbyteries to be there considered until the next General Assemblie.' Here the want of some pieces of the kind is clearly recognised. The revision of the new version of the Psalms had just been ordered, and though there is nothing to make that conclusion certain, the injunction to Zachary Boyd might be taken as implying that public worship was contemplated, and that it was not considered an innovation to print the Spiritual Songs for that purpose. Yet, it is just possible, that in recommending a further 'translation' of certain passages of Scripture the Assembly may still have had in view only the private needs of the people; and, on the whole, it is perhaps safest to conclude that although regularly printed as an addendum to the Psalter, the Spiritual Songs were really not used, to any great extent at least, in the public services of the Church.

We do not find that anything ever came, either now or subsequently, of Zachary Boyd's 'paines' in translating 'the other Scriptural Songs in metre;' and in the meantime others seem to have been pursuing the work of versification, and submitting their efforts for the consideration of the ecclesiastical authorities. Thus, the Assembly's Commission of 1648 'desires Mr. John Adamson to revise Mr. David Leitch's papers of poecie, and give his opinion to the Commission thereof.' Leitch, who had been Regent and sub-Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, was at this time minister of Ellon, and the Commission, excusing his absence from his charge, advised the local Presbytery that he was 'employed in paraphrasing the songs of the Old and New Testaments' in Edinburgh. He seems to have been a younger brother of John Leitch, the famous epigrammatist, and a native of Cheshire. He is described by Sir Thomas Urquhart as '

most fluent poet in the Latin tongue, an exquisite philosopher, and a profound theologian;' but his record does not prove him to have been quite satisfactory as a minister. From Ellon he set off to England as chaplain to the Scottish army, got dissatisfied with his post, returned to be minister of Kemnay in 1650, and three years later was deprived of his living for deserting his parish, the Presbytery of Edinburgh reporting that he 'had a church on the roadway, not far from London.' These nomadic tendencies would certainly not help to create a disposition in favour of Leitch's 'papers of poecie;' and we are not surprised to find that, after the notices we have quoted, there is no further reference to his work in the records of the Assembly. The next versifier who comes on the scene is Mr. Robert Lowrie, known in his day as 'the Nest Egg,' owing to his being the only minister of Edinburgh who conformed to Episcopacy in 1662. From being minister of the second charge of Perth, he passed through various stages of development, until he died Bishop of Brechin in 1677. It was in 1650, when he was minister of the Tron Church, Edinburgh, that 'the Commission, understanding that Mr. Robert Lowrie has taken some paines in putting the Scriptural Songs in metre, they therefore desire him to present his labours therein to the Commission at their next meeting.' But alas! Mr. Robert Lowrie had no better fortune than his predecessors. The new Psalter of Rouse, containing nothing whatever but the Psalms, now came into use, and the question of any further addition to the materials of praise was dropped, not to be revived for another forty-six years. The Church, as we think, made two mistakes at this time. There was first the mistake of not providing the people with musical accompaniments to the Psalter, as had been done from the Reformation onwards; and there was the mistake of issuing the new Psalter without adding to it something of the nature of the spiritual songs which had found a place in the old version. It is possible, of course, as has been suggested, that the promoters of the new Psalter were too anxious for its introduction to wait for other versified material; and probably they believed that a supplementary manual of praise would follow as a matter of course so soon as the material could be agreed upon. After the efforts that had already been made to secure such

material, no one could be expected to forsee that it would be nearly another century and a half before the Church would have in its hands an authorised addition to the Psalter.

It is in 1696 that the matter next comes under consideration. The Moderator of Assembly that year was Patrick Symson, an 'outed' minister who, six years before, had been formally restored to the parish of Renfrew. It so happened that Symson, in 1685, had published a volume of 'Spiritual Songs, or Holy Poems,' (a little 12mo, now so rare that David Laing's copy sold for ninety-six shillings), and more than likely he was thinking of his own interests when he used his influence to bring about a 'Reference to the Commission to cause revise the Scripture Songs.' What was done regarding the matter at this time cannot be said, as the records are unfortunately amissing. In 1705, however, that is, nine years afterwards, the Assembly again recommended the Commission to 'revise the book called Scriptural Songs, in order to be prepared for publick use, and report to next Assembly;' and various ineffectual efforts to have the matter brought to a practical issue followed upon this. Symson himself was a member of one of the committees appointed to deal with his collection, but oddly enough, it is suggested to the Commission that his 'written songs' be 'put into the hands of some fit person that has skill of poecie, to amend any faults that may be found in the meeter.' That the minister of Renfrew appreciated this suggestion, that he was neither a 'fit person' nor 'skilled in poecie' may be doubted. But he had his compensations. In 1706, the Assembly recommended his 'Songs,' as revised and amended, to the attention of the Presbyteries, who were enjoined to exert their influence in promoting the use of these songs 'in privat families within their bounds,' and at the same time to send in their remarks and such suggested amendments as they thought expedient in view of a still more perfect edition being printed. Unfortunately the Presbyteries did not take up the matter so enthusiastically as at headquarters it was hoped they would do. We find the Committee waiting year after year for their 'remarks and amendments:' and at last, in 1709, the Commission declined to do anything further, unless the Presbyteries showed the practical interest in the matter that had been demanded of them.

This the Presbyteries still refrained from doing, and as a result the question of additions to the Psalmody was allowed to drop out of sight once more, this time for a period of thirty-two years. It was the movement next inaugurated that led at last to the publication of the well-known 'Scottish Paraphrases.'

Though the feeling was undoubtedly growing that there were many portions of Scripture besides the Psalms which, if versified, might very appropriately be sung in the churches, the giving of practical expression to this feeling proceeded almost as slowly as before, when the matter was again brought up in 1741. In that year the question was made the subject of an 'overture,' from what quarter does not appear; but probably nothing would have been done had the Presbytery of Dundee not pressed the matter on the attention of the Assembly of 1742, who thereupon appointed a Committee of nineteen ministers and three elders to deal with it. For two years apparently this Committee did nothing—at all events they made no report up to 1774, when, on the Assembly's attention being again directed to the subject, the appointment of the Committee was renewed, in the same terms as before, but with an addition of five ministers and four elders, thus making a Committee of thirty-one. Work seems now to have begun in earnest. The Presbyteries were invited by circular letter to send contributions to the proposed collection, a sub-Committee was appointed, and when the Assembly met in 1745 it was to have presented to them what is in reality the first edition of the Paraphrases. 'The General Assembly'—we are quoting from the minutes of May 18, 1745—'had laid before them by their Committee, some pieces of sacred poesy under the title of Translations and Paraphrases of several passages of sacred Scripture, composed by private persons; and though the Assembly have not sufficient time to consider these poems maturely, so as to approve or disapprove of them, yet they judge the same may be printed; and do remit the consideration of them to the several Presbyteries, in order to their transmitting their observations to the next General Assembly, that they, or any subsequent Assembly, may give such orders about the whole affair as they shall judge for edification.' This interesting little collection of 1745—a small 12mo volume, containing in all forty-five pieces—

is now very rare, but it has been practically reprinted, along with its subsequent enlargements, by Mr. Maclagan, who has adopted the excellent expedient of presenting the various versions in parallel columns for the purpose of comparison. In an 'Advertisement,' which occupies two pages, we are told that the use for which the poems were intended, 'required simplicity and plainness of composition and stile;' and it is added that 'the Committee who prepared them aimed at having the sense of Scripture expressed in easy verse, such as might be fitted to raise devotion, might be intelligible to all, and might rise above contempt from persons of better taste.' The collection seems to have met with but indifferent attention from the several Presbyteries. Complaints were made at succeeding Assemblies that 'remarks and observations' had not been sent in by such and such Presbyteries, and in 1749 the excuse was made that many of the local bodies had lost the copies with which they had been furnished in the 'confusions of the late Rebellion.' It was this pretext which, in a great measure, led to the issue of a second edition of the Paraphrases—an edition which, though apparently printed in 1750, bore the date of 1751. Once more the tiresome process of waiting for the criticisms and opinions of the inferior courts begins, notwithstanding that in sending down the Paraphrases to the Presbyteries the Assembly again recommended that they should be used in private families, and at the same time directed the Presbyteries to have a sufficient number of copies to supply the probable demand. In 1755 there were still thirty-two Presbyteries who had sent in no opinion, and this would appear to have furnished the Assembly with a pretext for still further delay. It seems, as Mr. Maclagan has remarked, to be quite plain from the action of the Assembly in thus prolonging the consideration of the collection that there was a majority opposed to its introduction, but, that, at the same time, the minority was sufficiently strong to prevent the Paraphrases from being wholly rejected. For ten years the collection had been before the Church, but the conservative spirit had succeeded in keeping it out of public worship, without any specific excuse. Probably those who favoured the collection became disheartened over the 1755 decision to delay, and it is not until another twenty years

have gone by that any further attempt is made to revive the subject.

It is to the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr that the credit belongs of bringing the matter at last to a head. Many ministers and congregations, said the Synod, 'overturing' the Assembly in 1775, were desirous to have the Paraphrases used in public worship, and it was therefore hoped that immediate steps would be taken to allow of this being done. Again a Committee was appointed, and again the work of selection and revision began in earnest. By 1780, the collection as it now stands was completed, and in 1781 'a fair copy' was handed to each of the members for the review of the Assembly. Once more the collection was sent down to the Presbyteries, but this time with the difference that ministers might use it for public worship if they considered it to be for the 'edification' of their congregations. This concession may really be said to have constituted the official approval of the Paraphrases, since, as is well known, there is no special Act of Assembly formally sanctioning the collection; and if we except the various grants of copyright to the printer, there is nothing further in the records of the Assembly regarding it. It seems to have worked its way very slowly into the churches. Many, even of the clergy, refused for half a century longer to use it, clinging to the absurd notion, still prevailing in some quarters, that the Metrical Psalms have a more direct inspiration. As the late Principal Cunningham has said, many people did not recognize that though the Hebrew Psalmists often express with much beauty the sentiments of natural religion, they could not transcend their own time and anticipate the feelings of the Christian. The Christian Church demanded a psalmody of its own, and the Scottish Church found such a psalmody by accepting in versified form some of the noblest sentiments of the prophets and apostles.

At this point the question of the authorship of the various Paraphrases in the collection may now be taken up, and before dealing with the subject in detail it may be well to set before our readers the following table, which will show at a glance how the matter stands. Various lists of authors, professing to give correctly the origin of the various pieces, have been printed from time to time, but only one or two of these lists are to be

trusted in every particular. Around several of the Paraphrases, as we shall see, the fires of controversy have burned fiercely without having yet spent themselves, and any compiler of a list of authors must give his reasons for the faith that is in him before he can claim that his list should be accepted and used as a reference. In all cases where the question of authorship is open to doubt, or where it is necessary to explain some point connected therewith, we have added the words, 'see text,' where the matter is subsequently dealt with; while as regards the names of Michael Bruce and John Logan, reference should be made to our discussion of the controversy connected with these names :—

Paraphrases.	*Authors.*
1.	Watts; altered by Cameron or Logan.
2.	Doddridge; altered by Bruce or Logan [see text.]
3.	Watts; altered by Cameron.
4.	Robert Blair; altered by Cameron.
5.	Watts; much altered, probably by Cameron.
6.	Author unknown, ascribed to Watts, but evidence unsatisfactory [see text.]
7.	Watts; altered by Cameron.
8.	Michael Bruce; shortened; altered probably by Logan.
9.	Michael Bruce.
10.	Michael Bruce.
11.	Michael Bruce; altered by Logan.
12.	Rev. Dr. Martin.
13.	Watts; much altered.
14.	Rev. William Cameron.
15.	Watts; slightly altered.
16.	Dr. Blacklock.
17.	Rev. William Cameron.
18.	Anonymous in 1745 edition; revised by Bruce or Logan [see text.]
19.	Dr. John Morison.
20.	Watts; slightly altered by Blair.
21.	Dr. John Morison.
22.	Watts; considerably altered from his hymn, "Whence do our mournful thoughts arise?"
23.	Michael Bruce; altered by Logan.
24.	Watts; greatly altered.
25.	Rev. William Robertson; altered, probably by Logan.
26.	Anonymous in 1745 edition; altered by Cameron for 1781.
27.	Dr. Morison.
28.	Dr. Morison.
29.	Dr. Morison.
30.	Dr. Morison.
31.	Michael Bruce.
32.	Probably Hugh Blair and Cameron [see text.]
33.	Dr. Robert Blair; altered, probably by Cameron.
34.	Dr. Robert Blair; altered by Cameron.
35.	Dr. Morison; through Watts or Ellinger [see text.]
36.	Anonymous; altered by Cameron.
37.	Nahum Tate; slightly altered.
38.	Michael Bruce; altered by Logan.
39.	Doddridge; slightly altered by Cameron.
40.	Watts; altered and extended by Cameron.
41	Watts; made up of two separate Hymns, with alterations by Cameron.
42.	Rev. William Robertson; altered by Cameron.

Paraphrases.	*Authors.*
43.	Rev. William Robertson; altered by Cameron.
44.	Dr. Robert Blair.
45.	Dr. Robert Blair; altered by Cameron.
46.	Watts; altered by Cameron.
47.	Watts; altered by Cameron.
48.	Anonymous in 1745 edition; revised by Logan or Bruce [see text.]
49.	Rev. Thomas Randall; slightly altered by Cameron.
50.	Anonymous; ascribed to Watts on insufficient evidence [see text.]
51.	Anonymous; suggestions from Watts.
52.	Anonymous; altered, probably by Cameron.
53.	Michael Bruce.
54.	Watts; altered by Cameron.
55.	Watts; altered by Cameron.
56.	Watts; altered by Cameron.
57.	Anonymous; probably Dr. Robert Blair, with suggestions from Watts [see text.]
58.	Michael Bruce.
59.	Anonymous; altered by Cameron.
60.	Doddridge; slightly altered by Cameron.
61.	Watts; slightly altered by Cameron.
62.	Dr. John Ogilvie.
63.	Anonymous; suggestions from Watts.
64.	Anonymous; suggestions from Watts, and John Mason's "To Him that loved us from Himself."
65.	Watts; enlarged and altered by Cameron.
66.	Anonymous; founded on Watts.
67.	Watts; selected from two separate Hymns and altered by Cameron.

From this table it will be seen at once that the largest contributor to the collection is Isaac Watts (1674-1748), the English Nonconformist divine, whose history is too well known to require re-telling here. Watts was a man of true poetical feeling, 'careless, indeed, for the most part,' as his brother poet, Cowper, has said, 'and inattentive too often to those niceties which constitute elegance of expression, but frequently sublime in his conceptions and masterly in his execution.' There are lines in his hymns which offend all good taste; yet there are some wonderful jewels in the oft 'rubbishy mass' of his religious poems, and amongst them must be numbered several of the pieces which find a place among the Paraphrases. The contributions which are clearly his are those numbered, 1, 3, 5, 7, 13, 15, 20, 22, 24, 40, 41, 46, 47, 54, 55, 56, 61, 65, 67— twenty in all; while Paraphrases 51, 57, 63, 64 and 66, being, as our table shows, founded on suggestions to be met with in his hymns, are also in some measure due to him. With regard to the sixth and fiftieth Paraphrases, both of which have been ascribed to him, the

evidence is in each case unsatisfactory. Watts was such a voluminous hymn-writer that he was frequently set down as the author of pieces whose origin could not be definitely ascertained, and thus several hymns have come to be associated with his name to which he has no claim whatever. The sixth Paraphrase—'The rush may rise where waters flow,' has nothing at all resembling it among any of Watts' known compositions. It appears, in a somewhat different form, in the tentative edition of 1745, from which it passed, with the alteration of one line only, to the 1751 edition. A number of changes were made for 1781, but to whom these were due it is impossible now to say, though most likely they were by Cameron. The fiftieth Paraphrase—'When the last trumpet's awful voice'—must be regarded as an anonymous composition. Watts, it is true, wrote a hymn on a portion of the same passage of Scripture, but this production runs only to four verses, while the Paraphrase has twice that number. The author of the Paraphrase—which, in its first form appears in 1745—had undoubtedly Watts' hymn before him when he wrote, for he has adopted the last two lines of its fourth verse, but in all essential respects the composition may fairly be called original. Of course, with regard to most of the Paraphrases ascribed to Watts, we must not forget that they have come under the graceful hand of William Cameron, to whom they undoubtedly owe a great deal of such polish as they exhibit. These were not the days of reverence for an author's text, and so long as diction could be improved or doctrine altered to suit the views of the Church at the time, any question of faithfulness to an original was waived aside as entirely superfluous. It is a phase of literary morality that would not please us greatly now, but the Paraphrases, and in particular those of Watts, have lost nothing, but on the contrary, have gained much, from its exhibition a century and more ago.

Passing over Michael Bruce in the meantime, the next largest contributor to Watts is Dr. John Morison. Morison was in his lifetime hardly known beyond the bounds of Caithness, and his name is still so unfamiliar that even in the list of 'M's' issued recently for that comprehensive work, the 'Dictionary of National

Biography,' it does not appear.* Yet he was a man of undoubted literary ability, and though it was only in sacred verse that he achieved success, his miscellaneous writings might form a considerable volume. His life was a comparatively uneventful though busy one. Born in the parish of Cairnie, Aberdeenshire, in 1750, he studied at King's College, and thereafter became a tutor, first in the parish of Dunnet, Caithness, and afterwards in the parish of Halkirk. In 1771 he took his M.A. degree at Aberdeen, and two years later became a teacher at Thurso, receiving license as a preacher about the same time. During his probationary period he made the acquaintance of John Logan, who was acting as tutor to Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, then a minor, and subsequently well known as the editor of the old *Statistical Account of Scotland.* The two young men were drawn to each other by mutual literary tastes, and by-and-bye they were found together in Edinburgh, whither Morison had come for further study. Morison had already contributed a number of poetical pieces to Ruddiman's *Edinburgh Weekly Magazine*, under the signature of 'Musaeus,' and these attracting the attention of Dr. Macfarlane, minister of the Second Charge, Canongate, and a member of the Committee then at work on the Paraphrases, the young licentiate was encouraged to send in some pieces on approval to the Committee. Morison set to work at once, and was very soon able to submit no fewer than twenty-four Paraphrases of portions of Scripture. Of these, seven only were accepted—those now numbered, 19, 21, 27, 28, 29, 30, and 35. That there were among the rejected pieces some things which might very well have been admitted may be gathered from the following paraphrase of that fine passage in Isaiah, beginning, 'The voice of Him that crieth in the wilderness, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord."'

'His voice who preached in wilds, and bade
The listening nations hear:
Ye tribes of earth prepare. A God,
A Saviour God is near.

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* Since this article was in type, the writer has succeeded in getting for Dr. Morison a place in the 'Dictionary.'

'Ye hills, with reverend heads receive
Your Maker from the skies;
To greet His glad approach, ye vales,
With all your incense rise.

'He comes with song of joy and peace,
The sad in heart to cheer;
The blind His glorious train shall see,
His voice the deaf shall hear.

'All flesh together shall behold
The glory of the Lord;
And men with faithful hearts shall trust
In God's eternal word.

If it cannot be said that this is as good as anything in the present collection, it is at anyrate better than several pieces which the Committee thought worthy of acceptance. After leaving Edinburgh, Morison again went to the far north as a tutor, and it has been conjectured that it was through the influence of the Bishop of Derry, who was then on a visit to Caithness, and came to think highly of Morison's gifts, that Mr. John Sinclair of Freswick, Sheriff of Caithness, presented him to the parish of Canisbay, to which he was ordained in 1780. The Church of Canisbay is, we believe, the most northerly church on the mainland of Great Britain. It is a small white building standing on the green slope of Caithness, and within a few miles of John o' Groats. A secluded spot now, in all conscience, it must have been more so in Morison's day, yet, as has been well said, 'That church was filled during eighteen years of last century by one who has, perhaps, left as deep a mark upon Scottish religion as any man of his time.' Mr. Morison received the degree of D.D. from the University of Edinburgh in 1792, but he did not long enjoy the honour, having died, a comparatively young man, in 1798. Like many of the parish ministers of his time, he was a contributor to the *Statistical Account*, and another piece of literary work which he did in the same direction, was his collecting for Chalmers' *Caledonia* of the topographical history of Caithness. Some of Morison's Paraphrases are among the most frequently used in the entire collection. The 35th, ''Twas on that night when doomed to know,' has been the Scottish Communion hymn for generations, and will prob-

ably so remain for many generations more. Unfortunately this paraphrase cannot, in its present form, be allowed to stand fully to Morison's credit. It seems to owe something to Watts' hymn, 'Twas on that dark, that doleful night,' if not also to a Latin hymn by Andreas Ellinger, which is printed in the Parker Society's 'Private Prayers put forth by Authority during the reign of Queen Elizabeth,' (p. 405). Nor is this the only perplexing point about the hymn; for the following fragment printed in the 'Memoirs of Dr. Macgill,' as a part of Dr. Morison's original raises a doubt as to even the accepted form of the Paraphrase being by Morrison:—

'Twas on that night when doomed to know
The eager rage of every foe,
The Lord of Life embraced a fiend
In semblance of a courteous friend.
That night in which He was betray'd
The Son and sent of God took bread,
And after thanks and glory given
To Him that rules in earth and heaven,
The symbol of His flesh He broke,
And thus to all his followers spoke:
While goodness on his bosom glowed,
And from His lips salvation flowed.'

Of course it is now impossible to say who made the changes on this hymn, but it is just possible that Morison himself was the reviser. About the other Paraphrases from the same pen there is happily no mystery. The best is undoubtedly the 30th, that fine rendering of Hosea beginning, 'Come, let us to the Lord our God.' It has been pointed out that at the time of Morison's settlement at Canisbay, the nation was in trouble at home and abroad. Our armies were being gradually driven out of America, and although we had better fortune in India, still it was not a period of national prosperity. We should perhaps be going too far if we sought to find in his verse direct traces of these anxieties of the time; and yet it may pretty safely be concluded that his feelings were much stirred when he wrote this Paraphrase, with the familiar lines—

'Long hath the night of sorrow reign'd;
The dawn shall bring us light;
God shall appear, and we shall rise
With gladness in His sight.'

The 27th and 28th Paraphrases, it has frequently been asserted, were either 'tinkered' by Logan, or written jointly by Morison and Logan. There is not the slightest evidence that Logan had any hand in either of them. Dr. Grosart, in his edition of Michael Bruce, somewhat unaccountably says they were in all likelihood derived by Logan from Bruce's MSS., and were afterwards revised and altered by Morison. We shall see presently what was the nature of the connection between Bruce and Logan. The latter, as we already know, was also an acquaintance of Morison, but as far as we are aware there is no reason to believe—there is certainly no evidence to show—that the two Paraphrases in question were not the sole composition of Morison. From what we know of Logan, we should think it exceedingly improbable that he would hand any of Bruce's MSS. to another for revisal: from his own point of view he had too good reason for keeping all such MSS. in his own possession.

Dr. Robert Blair, the author more or less of five of the Paraphrases, was once better known in literature than we fear he is now. Blair's 'Grave' was a notable production in its day, but we do not read blank verse now, and if we did we should prefer a less lugubrious subject than that which engaged the muse of the worthy Doctor. Blair was a man of considerable learning, and as he had ample private means, he was able to indulge his tastes in those expensive studies in natural science in which he delighted. He passed most of his life in the parish of Athelstaneford, where he laboured quietly and successfully among his people. He corresponded with several eminent men of his day, particularly with Watts and Doddridge, and as he was a member of the first Paraphrase Committee it was no doubt through his influence that so many of Watts' hymns were included in the 1745 edition. His own contributions to the collection are those numbered, 4, 33, 34, 44 and 45, but all these were so altered by Cameron or others as to leave only a foundation of credit to Blair for the authorship. The 57th Paraphrase, 'Jesus the Son of God, who once,' is generally ascribed to him, but—in its original conception at least — it owes nearly everything to a hymn by Watts, beginning, 'With joy we meditate the grace.' The first two verses as printed in 1745, and subsequently

transferred, with slight verbal alterations, to the succeeding editions, are certainly original, and it is not improbable that these were from the pen of Blair, though there is now no means of settling the matter.

The Rev. William Robertson, the author of three of the Paraphrases, was minister of Old Greyfriars, Edinburgh, and father of Principal Robertson, the well-known historian. He was one of the Paraphrase Committee appointed in 1742, but we may safely say that he did not require to hold this position in order to secure consideration for his contributions. The three Paraphrases which stand in his name are among the best in the collection. The 25th, 'How few receive with cordial faith,' owes something of its polish to the hand of some improver among the Committee—probably Logan—who produced the final edition in 1781; while the 42nd and 43rd, 'Let not your hearts with anxious thoughts,' and 'You now must hear my voice no more,' have passed under the critical eye of Cameron, and now stand among the gems of the collection.

William Cameron, of Kirknewton, to whom we owe Paraphrases 14 and 17, and whose graceful literary touches are to be found in nearly thirty others, had perhaps more to do with the collection than any other member of the Committee. At the time the latter were at work he was only a licentiate, engaged apparently in literary studies; and the fact that much of the labour of revision was left in his hands, shows that the Committee must have formed a high opinion of his ability. Born at Glenmuick, in the upper regions of Deeside, in 1751, Cameron passed in 1770 from the parish school to Marischal College, Aberdeen, where he remained for four years. At this time he gained the friendship of Dr. Beattie, and it is worthy of remark that of the various attempts which have been made towards a continuation of 'The Minstrel,' Cameron's addendum, as published in his posthumous volume of verse, approaches most nearly, in spirit and plan, to the original. It was probably by Beattie's influence that he was introduced to the Paraphrase Committee, for it was not until 1780 that he became known to the public as a writer of verse, his 'Poems on Various Subjects,' being printed at Edinburgh in that year. It is doubtful, by the way, whether this first venture

proved a success. The author promised that if it were well received, another volume would follow; but nothing further of the same kind was published during his life-time. In February 1786 Cameron was presented to the parish of Kirknewton, in Midlothian, and there he remained till his death in 1811. A volume of poems was issued by his family two years after his decease, but a reading of the collection has not revealed to us anything of distinct merit, though we have not been altogether without reward. In one piece, which he calls 'The Poet's Manual,' he has a reference to Logan, which is not without some interest to us here—

> 'Alas, my early friend! I mark thy shade
> Moving majestic through the glimmering glade:
> I view thee, L——n, vulgar concourse fly,
> And darting back a stern, contemptuous eye—
> I mark th' emotions of his towering mind,
> By learning, genius, harmony, refin'd;
> In converse close, with B——e he hies away
> To opening regions of unsetting day.'

Logan in the higher spheres in close converse with Bruce will sound very like satire to those of us who are unfortunately compelled to regard Logan as the most daring literary plagiarist of his day. It is right, however, to say that Cameron was intimately acquainted with Logan, and it is certain he would not have written the lines just quoted if he had believed the story which Dr. Anderson, the editor of *The British Poets*, first heard from the friends of Bruce in 1795. That much at anyrate—and it is not *very* much—may be said in Logan's favour. Cameron's work as a member of the Committee cannot be too highly commended. The manner in which he carried out his duties fulfilled in a high degree the opinion of his friend, Dr. Beattie, who said that the style of such compositions as the Paraphrases 'should be perfectly simple and perspicuous, without any quaintness, and free from all superfluous epithets; harmonious and elegant, equally remote from rusticity and affectation; having dignity to please the best judges, and plainness adapted to the meanest capacity.'

John Ogilvie, the author of the 62nd Paraphrase—'Lo! in the last of days, behold'—was a son of the manse, his father

being one of the ministers of St. Nicholas Church, Aberdeen. Born in 1733, he studied at Marischal College, was licensed in 1755, and four years later became minister of the pretty little parish of Lumphanan, on Deeside, which he left in 1760 for Midmar, a parish in the same Presbytery. One of the most voluminous authors of his day, it was nevertheless the fate of Ogilvie to outlive the fame of almost every line he wrote, and were it not for the Paraphrase which finds a place in our collection, he would now be entirely forgotten. He had nothing of the real soul of poetry in his nature; and though his intellect no doubt easily grasped the big subjects to which he made himself a victim, his Muse had not the wing to enable him to reach the highest flights. It makes one dull to read even the titles of his productions: 'Solitude, or the Elysium of the Poets;' 'Providence: an Allegorical Poem in Three Books;' 'Rona, a Poem' (described as 'an outrageous and impossible tale of the Hebrides, told in turgid language, and as void of poetical feeling as it is of poetical treatment'); 'Britannia, an Epic;' 'Human Life'—these and such like were the efforts which from youth to old age kept his pen busy and frittered away a life which might have been made of real use to literature. One of the things he enjoyed most as relieving the dreariness of his secluded parish (it is, as we know, a pretty parish notwithstanding) was an occasional trip to London, where he drank wine and posed as a literary luminary from the north country. He was one of the few Scotsmen whom Dr. Johnson could get on with comfortably, but before the introduction took place the wily Doctor had instructed Boswell to say to Mr. Ogilvie that 'we must have none of his poetry,' and the divine's abstention from verse probably helped, with the wine, to keep things sweet around the board at the Mitre Tavern. Ogilvie was undoubtedly a man of great learning and of considerable ability, but he threw away his chances of enriching our literature by his persistent attempts to paint on a large canvas. If he had but concentrated his powers on one great work, that work being chosen with judgment and taste, and had thrown aside those pedagogic tendencies which most of his efforts exhibit, he might, as an anonymous critic has said of him, have rivalled in popularity the most renowned of his con-

temporaries. As it was, his fame died with him in 1813, and the world probably then thought a great deal more of the F.R.S.E., and the D.D., which a couple of too generous bodies enabled him to add to his name, than of his verse. Dr. Ogilvie's Paraphrase is not among the most popular in the collection, though there are one or two good lines in it. It is said to have been slightly altered by Cameron, which is probable enough, though there is no existing evidence of the fact.

Samuel Martin, to whom we owe the 12th Paraphrase—'Ye indolent and slothful! rise,'—was a son of John Martin, schoolmaster at Anstruther, Fife, where he was born in 1740. He was minister first at Balmaghie, in Kirkcudbrightshire, and afterwards of Monimail, in Fife, where he died in 1829. He does not seem to have taken much part in the ecclesiastical questions of his day, but he was for many years chaplain to the Lord High Commissioner, and among his published works are 'A Poetical Epistle addressed to the Princess of Wales' (1795) and 'An Epistle in Verse, occasioned by the death of James Boswell, Esq. of Auchinleck' (*ibid*). He became a member of the Paraphrase Committee in 1775, and his grandson, Mr. James Brodie, who succeeded him in the parish, and who joined the Secession of 1843, gives in an old number of the *Free Church Magazine* (August, 1847) an interesting account of the share he had in the work, and the opinion he entertained of the pieces selected. It seems that though he was a member of the General Committee, he took no active part in the work of compilation, that having been entrusted to a small sub-committee, of whose proceedings he decidedly disapproved. He sent in several metrical versions of different portions of Scripture, among which was his contribution to the present collection. Much to his annoyance, however, when the printed volume appeared, he found that not one of what he considered his really valuable pieces had been inserted, while the collection as a whole was very different from what he had been led to expect. Many of the Paraphrases he regarded as 'unsound,' and never gave them out to be sung. Even the 12th, though an author might be supposed to be partial to his own composition, he commonly passed over, as not sufficiently devotional, and only sang it when the subject of discourse happened to refer to the

duty of preparing in youth for the trials of age and the concerns of eternity. Mr. Brodie says that Dr. Martin's family were led to understand that he had some share in the 11th Paraphrase, but in this the family must have been mistaken. The 11th Paraphrase —'O happy is the man who hears'—is one of those in which the Logan-Bruce controversy is involved, and it may be sufficient to say in the meantime that it appears, with some trifling variations, in Logan's own volume of 1781. Dr. Martin was, of course, still living at this time, and daring plagiarist though Logan was, it is hardly probable that he would publish as his own a hymn of which another could personally claim his share. Nor is the suggestion that has been made, to the effect that Martin may have revised Logan's (? Bruce's) original at all feasible. Logan was himself a member of the Paraphrase Committee, while, as we have seen, Dr. Martin took no active part in the work of compilation and revision. It is as likely as not that Logan himself was responsible for the rendering of the Paraphrase as it stands in the collection, and as to its appearance in his volume of 1781 we shall find an explanation when we come to deal with his treatment of the Bruce MSS.

Thomas Randall, the author of the 49th Paraphrase—'Though perfect eloquence adorned'—was a student at Edinburgh University, where he graduated M.A. in 1730. In 1738 he became minister of Inchture, and in 1770 was translated from Glasgow to the First Charge at Stirling. In the disputed settlement of Mr. David Thomson, in the parish of St. Ninians, he took up the cause of the parishioners along with the other members of the Presbytery, and when, after a litigation of seven years, the Presbytery met by order of the Assembly to admit Mr. Thomson, Randall absented himself as a protest against the settlement. For this contumacious act he was summoned to appear before the Assembly in 1774, and was there publicly rebuked by the Moderator. In October, 1778, he was translated to Lady Yester's, Edinburgh, and died in 1780. He was one of those whose names were added to the Paraphrase Committee in 1744, and what is now the 49th Paraphrase appears as the 11th in the tentative edition of the following year. Some alterations, greatly for the better, were made on the original, and these have generally been attri-

buted to Cameron. There are some excellent stanzas in the piece, especially the four beginning, 'Love suffers long; love envies not,' but most of these have undergone the polishing process, and cannot therefore altogether stand to Randall's credit.

One of the most beautiful of all the Paraphrases is the 2nd in the collection, 'O God of Bethel.' Nothing more musical in form, nothing more articulate with the deepest spiritual needs of human nature, nothing more hallowed by old and reverent associations is to be found in the whole range of sacred poetry. Of Dr. Doddridge, the author, it is necessary to say very little. His reputation has been sufficiently perpetuated by his works, although we doubt if 'The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul' is read nowadays, any more than 'The Grave' of Robert Blair. In our list of authors we have marked this Paraphrase, 'altered by Bruce or Logan,' but this point may be left for consideration when we come to deal with the Logan-Bruce controversy. The 32nd Paraphrase—'What though no flow'rs the fig-tree clothe'—as it appeared in 1745, was almost identical with a hymn by Doddridge, beginning, 'So firm the saints' foundations stand,' but in its present form it appears to be the composition of Hugh Blair, with changes and additions by Cameron.

Dr. Blacklock's authorship of the 16th Paraphrase—'In life's gay morn'—is interesting, apart from its place in the collection, as having been written by the friend of Burns. Blacklock, as is well known, had the misfortune to lose his eyesight at an early age through small-pox. Educated for the ministry, he was presented to the parish of Kirkcudbright in 1762, but the congregation opposed his settlement on account of his blindness. A lawsuit followed, which was ultimately compromised by Blacklock retiring on an annuity. In 1764, he repaired to Edinburgh, where he was of some service to Burns in introducing the latter to the 'Society' of the capital—if, indeed, that was a service at all. Poetry, as James Hogg remarks, was to him 'the dear solace of perpetual blindness;' but unfortunately his poetry has in it very little either of beauty or originality, and his Paraphrase cannot be said to be a general favourite.

The 37th Paraphrase, 'While shepherds watched their flocks by night,' brings us into contact with the old Tate and Brady

metrical Psalter, which not so very long ago was in strong possession in the English Churches. It is the only composition in the collection from the pen of an Irishman. Nahum Tate, we are sorry to say, was a somewhat disreputable character—improvident and intemperate to such a degree that though he held the post of poet-laureate, in succession to Shadwell, a post which brought him £100 a year, he died in extreme indigence in the Mint, which, curiously enough, was then a sanctuary for debtors. That, however, need not prevent us admiring his Paraphrase, which is indeed one of the best in the collection, though it draws a good deal of its charm from the subject of its verse. It appeared first in 1703 among the supplementary hymns added to the Tate and Brady collection, which, by the way, a humorous Bishop once designated a 'drysalter.' The hymns in this appendix were all from the pen of Tate, who seems to have been a much better versifier than his coadjutor.

Four at anyrate of the Paraphrases must be regarded as anonymous—the 26th, 36th, 52nd, and 59th. Speculations, it is true, have sometimes been made in reference to their authorship, but there is nothing at all definite regarding any one of them on which to found even a plausible claim. The 48th Paraphrase has very generally been attributed to Logan, but he cannot have done more than re-cast it for 1781, if he did even that much—because it was printed substantially in the 1745 edition as an anonymous production. The same remarks apply to the 18th Paraphrase, which, however, we shall deal with again.

We have now arrived at the point where it is necessary to enter on an examination of the evidence connected with what is known as the Logan-Bruce controversy. It is a somewhat painful subject, arousing on the side of Logan indignation and contempt, on the side of Bruce pity and esteem. We would gladly pass over the uninviting theme, for we have no desire to add another name to the list of those who have exposed the degrading actions of the minister of South Leith. But there is a duty to fulfil both to readers and to the memory of Bruce, and to shirk that duty would be only to make the treatment of our subject incomplete and misleading. In order that the various points to be brought forward may be perfectly understood it will be necessary

at the outset to give a brief sketch of the life of the two men whose names are involved in the controversy.

And first as to John Logan :—He was the younger son of George Logan, who at the time of his birth in 1748, occupied a small farm on the southern bounds of the County of Edinburgh, but who afterwards removed to Gosford Mains, near Haddington. As an old biographer has it, 'The love of learning and the shoots of genius which were early conspicuous in young Logan, were fondly cherished by his parents.' Both were zealous members of the Burgher denomination, and both indulged the hope—at that time, as perhaps still, so grateful to the minds of Scottish country people of the middle class—of one day proudly witnessing the listening peasantry receiving instruction from their son. Thus it was that John Logan was set out on a career of preparation for the ministry. From the parish school he passed in 1762 to the University of Edinburgh, where he had as fellow-students several young men who became notable in after-life, and—in the light of subsequent events,—most important of all, Michael Bruce. Logan appears to have been a successful student, his *forte* lying in the direction of languages and the *belles-lettres*; and there can be no doubt that had he employed his talents in a legitimate way, he would have risen to an eminent position in the world of literature. By the time he had finished his Arts' course, he seems to have come to the conclusion that the Burgher ministry would lead to a mode of life rather too severe for his tastes, and he accordingly made up his mind to study for the Church of Scotland. Meanwhile, he had gained the friendship of Lord Elibank, then residing at Aberlady, and through him —or, as some say, through Hugh Blair—he, in 1768, obtained the appointment of tutor to the youthful John Sinclair at Thurso Castle. As accounting for his having held this post for a few months only, one biographer tells us that the situation was 'not congenial with the spirit of independence which Logan possessed,' while another attributes the short engagement to the unfavourable impression made on Lady Janet Sinclair, the future Baronet's mother, by the young tutor's awkward manner. At anyrate, Logan was very soon succeeded in the office by friend Robertson, afterwards minister of Dalmeny,

returned south with the view of submitting himself as a candidate for the ministry. In September, 1770, he received the necessary license from the Presbytery of Haddington, and three years later, after he had come through the Court of Session—for there was a rival presentée—he became minister of the Second Charge of South Leith, where he remained for sixteen years. Logan never seems to have really gained the hearts of his people, and ultimately he completely lost what little esteem they may have entertained for him by publishing a tragedy which he had written for the manager of Covent Garden, but which the Lord Chamberlain refused to license on account of alleged unfavourable allusions to the Government. In giving his attention to this branch of literary work, Logan showed at once his obstinacy and his want of judgment. He cannot have been ignorant of the determined aversion of the Scottish people to any direct participation by the clergy in the amusements of the stage, and he must surely have been aware of the fact that the author of 'Douglas' had not many years before been driven from his pulpit for no other reason than that he had written a tragedy. But Logan not only acted foolishly in printing his 'Runnamede;' he went further, and actually had the work performed at the Edinburgh Theatre. This was more than his parishioners could stand, and when it was found that Logan was steadily giving way to intemperance, and that suggestions of an even graver charge were being made, the feeling became unanimous that proceedings must be instituted for his deposition. Logan was discerning enough to foresee the inevitable result, and took discretionary action at once by entering into an agreement with the Kirk Session to retire on an annuity of £40. We were rather amused on turning up Scott's 'Fasti' to read—'His mind being too sensitive for the many difficulties by which he was surrounded, he prudently demitted his charge.' That is certainly the most graceful way of stating the matter we have seen. Logan gave up his charge in 1786, and two years later died in London at the early age of forty. It has been said that he was reduced to considerable straits before the end came, but as we find that his books and MSS. produced a sum of £600, this could hardly have been the case. Some writers have sought to

trace the evidence of a Nemesis pursuing him from the year he publicly claimed the 'Ode to the Cuckoo,' but this kind of thing is quite out of place in the serious statement of a grave charge like that which lies at the door of Logan, and it need have no countenance here.

Now let us contrast the career just sketched with the short, sad life of Michael Bruce. He, too, was the child of religious parents, who belonged to the Church of the Burghers, then in the days of its first fervour after the Secession from the National Church. Bruce was born at Kinnesswood, a retired village on the margin of Lochleven, less than a fortnight before the fatal day at Culloden in 1746. He was a delicate child from the first, but he was always docile and eager to learn, and in spite of hindrances from sickness and herding he quickly rose to the top of the local school. Gradually he obtained education enough to fit him for the University, and before his sixteenth year was out he had enrolled himself at Edinburgh as a student for the Secession Church. It was at this time, as we have seen, that he met with Logan, to whom he would naturally be drawn by their mutual taste for poetry and literature. He does not seem to have been a brilliant student, but there is too much reason to believe that his studies were kept back by inability to procure the support needful for one of his delicate constitution. His parents' resources were but scanty, and he himself had to eke out the slender means at his command by teaching a small roadside school during the University vacation. His second engagement of this kind was at Forest Mill, near Alloa, in what Principal Shairp describes as 'a bleak, flat, forbidding country, with nothing to cheer the eye or feed the imagination.' Worst of all, the schoolhouse was low-roofed, damp, and close, and the consumptive tendency that had lurked in his breast from childhood now began to show itself in a pronounced way. He struggled on bravely for a time, but at last, weak and worn with illness, and feeling himself that the end was approaching, he removed to his father's house at Kinnesswood, where he lingered until death brought relief on the 5th of July, 1767. He had little more than completed his twenty-first y , yet, a t alto ther from those productions which have been t , he

left enough to show that had he lived longer he would undoubtedly have taken a place of the first rank among the minor poets of his country.

Having thus traced briefly the career of the two men, we are ready to present those facts in the Logan-Bruce controversy, regarding which both sides are in substantial agreement. From an early age Bruce had been writing poetry, and when he came to realise that the hand of death was surely upon him, he collected all his best pieces and transcribed them very carefully into a large quarto, leather-bound volume, procured for the express purpose. After his death in 1767, Logan, being perfectly aware that Bruce had composed many poems which had never seen the light, made a visit to Kinnesswood, and under the promise of securing fame for his dead young friend, and of pecuniarily aiding the family, he enticed Mr. Bruce to give up all Michael's MSS., with a view to their publication. Not only the quarto volume, but every scrap of the poet's writing that could be found in the village and district was handed over to Logan, and he left assuring Mr. and Mrs. Bruce that all the matter he had received would be returned when finished with, and holding out the hope —absurd enough, in all truth—that the profits of the proposed publication would be sufficient to maintain the old couple in comfort during the rest of their days. Two years passed, and the anxious parents still awaited the appearance of Michael's Poems. Letter after letter was sent to Logan asking information as to his progress and intentions, but no reply came in return.

At last, in 1770, there was published at Edinburgh a small duodecimo volume of a hundred and seventeen pages, with the following title: 'Poems on Several Occasions, by Michael Bruce. *Sine me, liber, ibis in urbem.—Ovid.* Edinburgh: printed by J. Robertson, MDCCLXX.' No editor's name appears on the title page, nor is there any explanation of how the originals of the poems were procured. After a short account of Bruce's life and a glowing eulogium on his character and genius, we have the following paragraph, and let it be particularly noted: 'To make up a miscellany, some poems, wrote by different authors, are inserted, all of them original, and none of them destitute of merit. *The reader of taste will easily distinguish them from those of Mr. Bruce,*

without their being particularized by any mark.' The italics, of course, are ours. Now, to leave the statement of established facts for a moment, as this was the first occasion on which any of Bruce's poems had seen the light, how could 'the reader of taste' be expected to distinguish the pieces which were really by Bruce, ' without their being particularized by any mark ? ' And again, what need was there, in a collection of seventeen pieces—for this was the number in the volume—to ' make up a miscellany ' from other writers when Bruce had left ample materials for a collection of his own ? These questions are merely suggested in the meantime ; the answer to them we may find later on.

Very soon after its publication, copies of the so-called Bruce collection reached Kinnesswood. It was at once the talk of the villagers, and universal surprise was expressed that there was ' scarcely a line in the book that breathed of divine things '—scarcely anything indicative of the profound piety which characterised the life of the poet himself. When the book was put into old Bruce's hands he burst into tears, and exclaimed, 'Where are my son's Gospel sonnets ? ' in other words, ' Where are my son's Paraphrases ? ' Naturally incensed at Logan's treatment of Michael's MSS., old Bruce scraped together a few shillings and set out for Edinburgh, resolving to recover from Logan the materials which he had given into his keeping, and to arrange himself about publishing a fitting selection from it. Having found Logan, Bruce demanded from him the large quarto MS. volume containing Michael's poems, but Logan, after a pretended futile search, expressed his fears that the servant *had singed fowls with it !* Some of Logan's apologists have triumphantly declared that the absurdity of this latter story is its own refutation. But it is not so very absurd after all. Servants have been known to do such things before now ; and moreover, when a man is suddenly pressed for an excuse he has no time to think of one that will bear the minute investigation of critics and controversialists. The ' fowl ' story was at anyrate the only pretext that Logan could give for the disappearance of the MS., and the old man went back to Kinnesswood with a grief in his heart which brought him to his grave very shortly afterwards. So much then for Logan's

general conduct in regard to the Bruce MSS. Let us see what remains to be told.

In 1781, that is, eleven years after the appearance of the so-called Bruce Volume, there was published in London a small octavo entitled 'Poems, by the Rev. John Logan, one of the Ministers of Leith.' To this volume, be it noted, there is no preface, nor is there a single word of explanation in regard to anything contained in it. Nevertheless, at the end of the book appear nine hymns which, to quote his latest biographer, 'were instantly recognised as substantially the "Gospel Sonnets," or poetical renderings of passages of Scripture, of Michael Bruce—some of them revisions of already existing hymns, and others wholly his own.' Put in tabulated form these hymns are as follows:—

1. Behold the mountain of the Lord. (Par. 18).
2. Few are thy days and full of woe. (Par. 8).
3. Almighty Father of mankind.
4. O happy is the man who hears. (Par. 11).
5. O God of Abraham. (Par. 2).
6. Behold the Ambassador Divine. (Par. 23).
7. Messiah! at Thy glad approach.
8. When Jesus by the Virgin brought. (Par. 38).
9. Let Christian faith and hope dispel. (Par. 48).

Now, if it be admitted that these nine hymns were really by Bruce, Logan's object in keeping back the sacred pieces from the Bruce volume of 1770, and particularly in pretending that the quarto MS. volume had been destroyed, at once becomes apparent. Old Bruce was now gone, and if Logan believed that he was the only one who could tell what pieces were really from Michael's pen, he might feel quite safe in filling up his own collection with the choicest of his dead friend's works, as well as in handing them over to his fellow-members of the Paraphrase Committee for publication in the forthcoming volume.

But has it been proved that the nine hymns in question were really the composition of Bruce? We think it has—or at any-rate that they were not the composition of Logan. Let us see what the leading biographers of Bruce have to say on the question. In 1857 the Rev. William Mackelvie published an edition of Bruce's poems with a careful and temperate life of the poet.

In addition to the facts we have already mentioned, his investigations showed that Bruce's authorship of the hymns or paraphrases in question could be proved in several ways quite independently of the indirect testimony which Logan's suspicious actions carried with them. It was shown that Bruce's fellow-villagers had sung his hymns long before they ever appeared in print under Logan's name. It was shown that as early as 1764 Bruce had written for a village Psalmody Class several of the pieces claimed by Logan. It was asserted on oath by James Bruce, brother of the poet, that every one of the Paraphrases published in Logan's name was written by Michael; that he had frequently read them in MS., heard them often repeated, and sung portions of them in the Psalmody Class as already referred to. Dr. Mackelvie printed as Bruce's undoubted productions, the 8th, 11th, and 18th Paraphrases, all of which had been claimed by Logan; and before his death he stated that he had met with additional evidence which confirmed the Bruce authorship not only of these three, but of numbers 9, 10, 11, 23, 31, 38, 48, 53, and 58, all of which also had been claimed by Logan. The whole ground was again gone over by Dr. Grosart, who issued an edition of Bruce with a very full biography and a keen examination of the controversy in 1865. Dr. Grosart is not exactly a model biographer, and he has somewhat weakened a perfectly good case by an objectionable style of writing. If he had omitted half his substantives and all his adjectives, and stated the case judicially, with the various points in logical sequence and without any 'righteous indignation' or unnecessary vilification of Logan, the result would have been much more effective. His manner of dealing with things is fully exemplified in the beginning of the memoir, where he starts off with a rhapsody about Robert Bruce and the Earls of Elgin, and laments that he cannot get Michael into the pedigree. However, he has, as we think, completely made out his case, and those who desire to have the minutest details regarding the controversy should go to his pages. Here, of course, it is quite impossible to find space to go over all the points in the argument.

Apart altogether from the question of the Bruce authorship,

something has to be said of one or two of the sacred pieces in Logan's volume of 1781. Take for instance the hymn, 'O God of Abraham,' now known as Paraphrase 2, 'O God of Bethel,' to which we have previously referred. What is the history of this hymn, which Logan prints as his own without a word of explanation? To put it shortly, the hymn was in existence, allowing for trifling differences of wording, as early as 1745, before Logan was born, and it was published in its real author's—Dr. Doddridge's—posthumous collection of hymns dated 1755. We shall not deny that verbal changes may have been made on the hymn by Logan—though we think it quite as likely that these were from the hand of Bruce—but his effrontery in laying claim to the authorship on the strength of such slight variations of the original as his version presents is a very bad feature of a character which at the best was seldom above suspicion. The 18th Paraphrase—'Behold the mountain of the Lord'—stands exactly on the same footing. It was also in print, substantially the same as now, in 1745, yet Logan, because he may have made one or two trifling changes on it, prints it as his own in 1781! We say 'may have made,' because that fine verse beginning 'The beam that shines on Zion hill,' *which had no place in the* 1745 *version*, is one of the verses that fixed itself in the memory of the Kinnesswood villagers, who declared that they had it from Bruce himself. The bearing of all this on the more immediate question of the Bruce authorship of the Paraphrases claimed by Logan is perfectly evident. If Logan printed as his own certain productions which were in existence substantially before he was born, how much more likely was he to print a selection of Bruce's pieces, which, according to his own belief, had no existence save in the quarto volume in his possession?

One thing bears on another, and unfortunately for Logan it is not the Bruce hymns alone that he has been charged with stealing. The 'Ode to the Cuckoo' must also be brought into court in dealing with this matter of the authorship of the Paraphrases. It cannot, as some have contended, be waived aside as a different question. If Logan stole it—and we say he did—he would be likely to steal other things, for thefts cannot be isolated. We are not unmindful of Dr. Laing's defence of the Logan author-

ship of the Ode, but that defence is certainly more notable for the eminence of its author than for the force of its arguments, and it has been answered not only by Dr. Grosart and others, but specially and very ably by Principal Shairp, whose excellent article in *Good Words* of November 1873 should be read by all who are interested in the matter. We shall not make very much of the fact that Logan's published sermons (we bought the volume for two-pence the other day!) show him to have borrowed in a wholesale fashion from Dr. Blair, Bishop Sherlock, Dr. Seed, and others. These sermons were printed after his death, and if he did preach large selections from other divines—well, his long-suffering congregation were perhaps all the better for it! Still the matter is not entirely without bearing on the question under notice, for the proof of malpractice in one instance inevitably tends to strengthen the probability of it in another.*

We regret that the space at our disposal does not enable us to support our case by dealing with the internal evidence to be got from a careful comparison of the authentic compositions of Logan and Bruce, respectively. One instance may just be adduced. The 8th Paraphrase, 'Few are thy days and full of woe,' has been claimed for Logan, as other things have been claimed, because he printed it in 1781. Now we shall simply ask

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* Since the text of this article was written, a History of 'Fala and Soutra,' by James Hunter, minister of the parish, has been published, in which an account of Logan as a native of the parish falls to be given. It will hardly be believed that Mr. Hunter, absolutely and unreservedly, assigns to Mr. Logan no fewer than nine of the Paraphrases, as if there had not been so much as a word of controversy regarding their authorship. Only in connection with the 58th Paraphrase does he admit that 'some controversy has arisen,' adding—surely with acuriously perverted logic—'and the friends of Bruce naturally claim it as his.' Why 'naturally' of the 58th Paraphrase more than the others does not appear. Mr. Hunter is equally confident as to Logan's authorship of the 'Ode to the Cuckoo.' About that we say nothing, but assuredly Principal Shairp's article in *Good Words* did not constitute 'the last time this matter was publicly discussed.' As to Mr. Hunter's citing of certain eminent persons as being in favour of a particular view, the procedure is of no account unless we know exactly on what evidence the views in question were founded.

whether this production was more likely to come from a man of a sombre cast of mind, dying slowly of consumption, than from a punch-drinking, play-writing parson who has never been charged with taking a very serious view of life? To an unprejudiced reader who knows the career of the two men intimately, this question will present no difficulty whatever. Of course, any argument founded on internal evidence must necessarily be inconclusive, but when, as in the present case, it is supported by other evidence, it must be allowed to have some weight. The fact that Bruce was attached to the Secession Church, to the members of which the Paraphrases were at this time of no account, has sometimes been mentioned as operating against his claims. We do not see that anything can be deduced from this. Bruce was a Seceder, no doubt, but, with much religious feeling, he does not seem to have been a strong party man. And why should he not have been acquainted with the Paraphrases? Committee after Committee had, as we know, been sitting on them since 1741, and two tentative editions had gone the round of the Presbyteries. It seems to us simply incredible that one with the poetic tastes of Bruce should not have met with these early collections and been stirred by their contents to try his own hand on a similar design. We readily admit that the evidence in our possession in favour of Bruce is in some respects not so full or so direct as could be wished; but this arises, to a great extent, from the very nature of the case; and at anyrate we must be content to leave the matter here. The character of the two men has certainly much weight in the argument, and while the life of Bruce was blameless from first to last, the whole career of Logan covering the period affected by the controversy was distinctly and admittedly bad. From our tabulated list it will be seen that we have assigned to Bruce the Paraphrases numbered 8, 9, 10, 11, 23, 31, 38, 53, and 58, the 18th being properly regarded as a revised hymn. We should have liked to deal with each of these Paraphrases in detail, and to have given our reasons for the ascription in every case, but the space at our disposal is too limited to permit of this, and we must again refer our readers to Dr. Grosart's exhaustive biography and notes.

Such, then, is the history of the Scottish Paraphrases. We do

not pretend to have exhausted it, for there is much more of interest that might be told in connection with the subject. But we have at anyrate given all that is necessary for an intelligent understanding of the origin and authorship of these solemnly beautiful Songs of the Church; and if we have succeeded in creating a fresh interest in the collection we shall consider ourselves sufficiently rewarded for any trouble experienced in collecting the necessary material. The tendency of the Churches seems now to be in favour of hymns, properly so-called, and doubtless the Paraphrases are less revered than they once were. That they will still retain their place in the affections of the people of Scotland we however confidently believe, and we hope the day is far distant when they will be entirely eliminated from the materials of the Church's Song.

J. CUTHBERT HADDEN.

ART. IV.—THE MEANING OF THE RUSSIAN NAME.

THE subject of the aggression of Russia in Europe and Asia is so constantly before the public mind, that the origin of her name as an empire and a nation may be expected to be invested with a peculiar interest. She is generally held to be mainly a Slav Power; at least, in the European section of her dominions. As such, she puts forward her dangerous Panslavistic claims, which would not only make her a ruler of the greater part of the Balkan Peninsula, but also drive her sway, wedge-like, into Hungary, parts of Austria, and the easternmost provinces of Germany.

Of the vast difference there is, between the various Slav nations, both in language and in historical development, the Panslavistic theory, of course, takes no heed whatever. It is as if, on the plea of Pan-Germanism, or Pan-Teutonism, Germans, Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, Dutchmen, the majority of the Swiss, Englishmen, North Americans, the South African Colonies, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal.

not to forget the Australians, were all politically to be brought under a single head.

At the very threshold of these impossible Panslavistic claims, Russia, it is true, is met by real Slavs, who declare that she contains, racially speaking, far more of the Finnish and the Tatar element, even in her European population, than of the real Slav stock. This is pre-eminently the contention of the Poles. They will not hear of Russia as the natural head of the Slavs. Any one conversant with the rise of the Russian Empire in the ninth century, and its gradual formation from a number of tribes different in blood and speech, must acknowledge, indeed, that the Poles, who are mainly true Slavs, are right in this statement.

When Rurik and his Norse war-clan first came as allies, and then as conquerors, of the tribes near Novgorod, they, no doubt, found some Slav population there. But the vast territory between the Finnish Gulf, the rise of the Don, and the Ural range was occupied then by Ugrian, Finnish, non-Slavonian, non-Aryan races. It is established now beyond the possibility of doubt that the Russian language only obtained the upper hand in the provinces of Kursk, Orel, Kaluga, Moscow, Vladimir, Yaroslaw, Kostroma, Tver, and the northern parts of Novgorod, so late as the thirteenth century. A glance at the map will show that these are the central provinces of European Russia, even if Poland be reckoned 'Russian;' which is a large assumption.

As to that part of what is now Eastern and Southern Russia in Europe, which had not yet been annexed to the Rurik realm at the time when the Tatars made their irruption in the thirteenth century, it became largely Mongolized during the following two centuries and a half of Mongol rule. The Slavonization, in language, though not in race, of this portion of the inhabitants of Russia began, therefore, only in the sixteenth century, when the Golden Horde of the Tatars at last withdrew.

In a 'Life of the Saints,' dedicated by learned men at Kieff to Peter I., the province of Tula, which touches that of Moscow, is described, without further ado, as 'the country where

Asia begins.' In a history of the Russian Empire, published under Catherine II., the Finnish, Tshudish—that is, Turanian —character of the Muscovites is openly acknowledged. When a German writer, Stritter, mentioned the non-Slavonian, Finnish origin of the Muscovites, Catherine II. issued a decree in vindication of their 'European' character; which was correct in so far as they were, of course, located in Europe. But that very decree contains the unavoidable admission that 'the Muscovites are of different origin from the Slavonians.' Even now the process of Russification in language is far from complete in all the European provinces of the Czar's dominions. On the Asiatic side, it need not been said, we come upon Siberians, Kalmucks, Kirgise, Tatars, and other semi-barbarous races. Such is the strange basis for the claim of Russia to represent the Slav stock!

But what about the Russian name? Is that, at any rate, a Slav one? The answer is: 'Certainly not!' It is a Norse, a Germanic one. Some Muscovite writers and pseudo-scholars, ignoring the strongest historical evidence in most outrageous manner, have sought to make out a Slav origin for that word. Others, trying at all events to steer clear of the Germanic connection, went, in their despair, to the Khazar and even to the Latin tongue, in order to account for the meaning of the national name.

Yet, can there be a reasonable doubt that the bold warriors who in the ninth century went forth under the name of the 'Rus' and the 'Warangians,' and who subjected the Finnish, Slav, partly also the Tatar tribes of the great north-eastern plain, where they founded the 'Russian' Empire, were of Teutonic blood? Is there not remarkable evidence, also, of those Warangians, or Warangs, having been close kinsmen of the Angles, who, together with Jutes, Saxons, Frisians, and other Germans, made Britain into an England?

Those who, from national bias rather than from true scholarly conviction, would doubt the Norse origin of the Russian name, might as well doubt that France had hers from the German Franks; Normandy from the Normans; Burgundy from the German Burgundians; Lombardy from the German

Longobards; Andalusia from the German Vandals; Catalonia (a fact perhaps less widely known) from the Goths and the Alans; and England from the Teutonic Angles.

A glance at the proper names—as we find them in the old Russian and Byzantine chronicles—of the princes, army-leaders, and treaty-witnesses of the conquering Russian and Warangian clans, settles the point of their Germanic descent at once. Are not Rurik, Sineus, Truvor, Oleg, Igor, Malfrid, Oskold, Dir, Adulb, Akun, Aldan, Alvard, Amund, Arfast, Asmund, Bern, Farlof, Frelaf, Frudi, Egri, Grim, Gunar, Ingeld, Ivor, Karl, Kary, Oleb, Rogned, Rogvolod, Ruald, Rulaf, Shibrid, Shigbern, Sven, Svenald, Wermund, and about sixty other names of the Northmen who established and kept up the Russian realm, provably Germanic names of the purest type? They are identical with, or, under a slight idiomatic change, easily resolvable into the same names which we find in the Frankish chronicles, in Icelandic sagas, and in other sources of Norse, German, English, and Scottish history and tradition.

A single passage in the old Russian historian, Nestor, is in itself enough to remove all doubt. We gather from him that the Rus, or Russians, were members of a Warang League to which Swedes (*Svie*), Norsemen (*Nurmane*, Norwegians), Angles (*Angliane*), and Goths (*Gote*) also belonged. It is, therefore, well-nigh incomprehensible that a certain modern school of Slavistic would-be or pseudo-scholars should endeavour to dispute the Germanic descent of the Rus, or Rhos, as the word is written in Byzantine Greek.

The best research as to the meaning of the Russian name has latterly been made by a Dane, Dr. Vilhelm Thomsen, Professor of Comparative Philology at the University of Copenhagen. Lectures on 'The Relations between Ancient Russia and Scandinavia and the Origin of the Russian State' were delivered by him, a few years ago, at the Taylor Institution in Oxford, and then collected into a volume. This small but valuable book is characterized throughout by scientific carefulness and effective argumentation. Those who have given attention to the subject at issue for many years

past, will easily see that on several points he has—as is but natural—repeated the results of the inquiries of predecessors. At the same time, every praise is due to the accuracy of statement and to the closeness of reasoning with which he leaves no apparent counter-argument unweighed, whilst supporting his own thesis with evidence both solid and minute.

To say it at once briefly, Professor Thomsen inclines to the belief that the Rus, Rhos, or Russian name, which is a Norse one beyond the possibility of serious cavil, is to be explained from the Swedish words *Roths-menn*, *Roths-Karlar*, or *Rother*—that is, Rowing Men, Rudder-men, Sea-farers, Vikings.

II.

Already in last century a word was pointed out, which forms a connecting link between the Russian name and Scandinavia. It is the name 'Ruotsi,' used by the Finnish population on the Bothnian Gulf and the Baltic for designating Sweden. In Esthnian speech it is 'Rots'; in the Vot language 'Rotsi'; and so forth. In Sweden itself, that province which lies just opposite the Finnish Gulf, is called 'Ros-lagen.' I may remark here that in a 'History of Russia' by Levesque, published at Paris in 1782, this fact was already mentioned as a most significant one. Ros-lagen is, however, a comparatively new name; therefore not decisive for the point in question. On the other hand, the word 'Rother,' 'Rothin,' has of old been used in Sweden for those districts of Upland and East Gothland, which border on the sea, and which in the Middle Ages were bound, in times of war, *to furnish ships*.

Now, the Russian name certainly came to the Slavs first through the Finns; for the Slavs were in early times wholly shut out from the sea-coast by the Finnish race. Yet, neither from the Finnish, nor from the Slav speech can the word 'Russian' at all be explained. 'It must therefore,'—Professor Thomsen argues—'be of foreign, in all probability of Scandinavian, origin. But, if it be so, it appears to me by no means unreasonable to fix upon the old Swedish word *roth-er*, all the more as it is in truth a remarkable coincidence that, in ancient times, *Rother*, *Rothin*, was the name of the very same tracts of Sweden, to which the Russian personal names, as we have

seen before, point as the original homestead of the Russ. We can easily imagine that the Swedes who lived near the coast, and crossed to the other side of the Baltic, might very early call themselves—not considered as a nation, but after their mode of living—*roths-menn* or *roths-karlar*, or something similar; *i.e.*, according to the original signification of the word: rowers, sea-farers. In Northern Norway *Róssfolk* (*Rórs-* or *Rods-folk*) still signifies fishers that assemble near the shore during the fishing time. In Sweden itself, this word, and even the abstract substantive *rother*, gradually came to be treated as proper names. It is, then, all the less strange that the Finns should have understood this name to be the title of the nation, and adopted it in this signification, so that they preserved the first syllable only of the compound word in the forms *Ruotsi* or *Ruotsalainen*.'

Professor Thomsen adds that it is a very usual thing, among the Finns, to keep only the first syllable of a word taken over from a foreign tongue into their own. This is the case, for instance, with the Finnish word *riksi* (a rix-dollar) which has been formed from the Swedish word *riks-daler* by dropping the principal word *daler*, and only retaining *riks*, which is the Swedish genitive form of *rike*, a Kingdom.

With the modest reserve characteristic of all painstaking investigators, Professor Thomsen gives his view only as a hypothesis, though as one which 'in every respect affords clear harmony and coherence.'

A different view is held by Dr. Hyde Clarke, who has ingeniously endeavoured to identify the Rus with the Rugians mentioned by Tacitus, and by Baeda, or the Venerable Bede. These Rugians were dwellers on the southern shores of the Baltic. The island of Rügen still bears their name. In their own German speech, I may add, they must have called themselves Rugen; as the personal name Ruge, which is still in existence, proves. Similar personal names taken from tribal and national designations—like Frank, Sachs, Schwab, Baier, Dühring (Thuringian), Preuss, Deutsch, and so forth—are very frequent in Germany. Now, the transition from Rugen (Rugs, or Rugians) to Rus might seem likely enough.

I will further point out that the order in which Nestor mentions the various sections of the Warangian League—namely, Rus, Swedes, Norwegians, Angles, and Goths—actually describes, so to say, a circle from the southern shores of the Baltic to Sweden, Norway, Angle-land, and Gothland; the chief German and Scandinavian tribes in those quarters being thus mentioned as within the 'Warang' Union. This would give support to Dr. Hyde Clarke's opinion. In that case, the Rus, in particular, would be rather German than Scandinavian, and more closely akin to the English than to the Northmen. It should, however, not be forgotten that, in the most ancient times at least, Germans and Scandinavians were far less marked off from each other than they are now. Tacitus describes the Swedes (*Suiones*), simply as Germans.* The Herulians, a German tribe, once dwelt on the northern shores of the Baltic, as did Goths who extended from the Black Sea up to the high North.

Whilst holding my own opinion in suspense, I cannot but acknowledge that Dr. Hyde Clarke's view merits full attention. Another theory, started in Germany by Dr. Paulus Cassel, is to this effect, that 'Russian' means the reddish-haired people, and that in this there is to be found the deepest argument for the Germanic descent of the founders of the Russian Empire. Strangely enough, Dr. Cassel asserts that Professor Thomsen 'has not made any close investigation of the meaning of the Russian name.' Evidently Dr. Cassel had not read, or certainly not carefully read, the book of that Danish author; or else he would not have made so unfounded a charge. As to Dr. Cassel's own view, I hold it to be an utterly untenable one.

No doubt, the Germans, among whom Tacitus reckons the Swedes, are described by the classic writers as reddish or fair-haired. In the same way, the Arab historian, Ibn Fosslan, in the tenth century, says of the Russians (that is of the Teutonic, partly Norse, partly German, war-clan which had established its rule over Finns and Slavs) :—'I never saw people of a more perfect bodily form. They are tall like palm-trees; of a clear, ruddy complexion; and fair-haired.'

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* Germania; 43.

However, it must not be forgotten that fair or reddish hair is not such an absolute test as to make it probable that a people's name should be derived from it. Some classic writers attribute fair hair to Gallic tribes, though not to the extent to which it prevailed then in Germany. Among the Finns there is a dark-haired race on the one hand, and a reddish-blond one on the other. Even among the Germans of Tacitus' time, there must have been an admixture of light-brown haired people, at the side of those with golden, reddish, or brown locks. We know that there was a curious yellow soap, or cosmetic hair-dye, invented in Gaul, in Roman times, which was much exported to Italy, after blond wigs and plaits had become the fashion at Rome. Now, Plinius says that in Germany men, more especially, rather than women, made use of that hair-dye.* No doubt, it was done for the purpose of making themselves more similar to the mass of their compatriots.

In northern Germany and in Scandinavia, whence the Rus and other Varangians came, fair hair, of course, preponderated. Still, it was not without exception even in Scandinavia. In the Eddic Song of Rigr—whose name is explained as an *alias* of Heimdall, son of Odin—we see the three classes of the population bodily described: namely, the serfs, or thralls; the simple freemen, or karls; and the noblemen, or jarls, earls. The thrall, evidently a conquered native of Turanian race, appears there as dark-skinned, whilst the karl is 'a ruddy, fresh red-head, with twinkling eyes;' and of the jarl it is, said:—'Light were his locks, and bright his cheeks, his eyes piercing, as a young snake's.' This latter description reminds us of the reddish hair and the fierce blue eyes attributed by Tacitus to our forefathers.

However, in Norse sagas we not only meet with dark thralls, but we also find heroic figures with black hair. Thus the sons of King Jonakur, from his marriage with Gudrun, are represented as of 'raven-black colour of their hair, like Gunnar (the

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* *Nat. Hist.* xxviii., 51. Galliarum hoc inventum rutilandis capillis. . . . Apud Germanos majore in usu viris, quam feminis.

German Gunther) and Högni (Hagen), and the other Niflungs (Nibelungs).' The Norse Sigurd or Nibelung saga is, I need scarcely say, of German origin, as testified to in the Edda and other Norse scriptures. May be that the mythic conception of Niflheim, the nebulous Night World or Nibelung Home, has left its colour mark upon the figures of those heroes. At all events, we see here some Germanic chieftians with dark hair, and for such a description there must have been facts in real life; for heroic myths are mostly mixtures of fiction and fact.

In order to support his view that 'Russian' means a reddish-haired man, Dr. Cassel refers to the red-bearded Teutonic God of Thunder, the son of Odin, as 'the real mythic ancestor of the Norse nations, and as the prototype of the Germanic race in general.' This is quite an error. It is Heimdall, as before said, not Thor, who is brought in as a progenitor of mankind in the Eddic Song of Rigr. And, curiously enough, he performs that part for the three classes of men—for those of manifestly Germanic origin as well as for the aboriginal thrall class.

Again, it should be remembered that Thor held a somewhat different position among the various Germanic nations. In Norway, certainly, he was the special chief deity of the country. So he also seems to have been, at one time, among the Angles or English (*Thôr, Engilsmanna God*). Even at Upsala his image stood in the centre of the sanctuary. Still, in Sweden, Freyr, the God of Love and Fruitfulness, was upon the whole the special head deity. Odin-Wodan filled that place generally among the Danes and among most German tribes. In the Icelandic Edda (in 'Oegir's Banquet'), Freyr is called 'the first of the Aesir.'

As to the colour of Thor's beard, it cannot be taken as typical in the sense of race—as Dr. Cassel would have it—for the simple reason that it manifestly represents the lightning flash of the Tempest God. All-father Odin was sometimes described as bald-headed, sometimes as grey-bearded. The grey colour not only points to the age of the hoary-headed Ruler of the Universe, but also to the frequent aspect of the northern sky. For similar reasons of the appearance of cloud-

land, Odin rides on a grey or whitish horse, and is often clad in a blue or checkered mantle, which latter symbolises the speckled welkin. On his part, Thor sometimes appears as a young man, sometimes as aged and grey-headed. In each case, however, he retains his red, lightning-beard. All this shows that, in the colours alluded to, we get the phenomena of the weather, as whose representatives the Gods are to be held.

Taking all these points into consideration—which Dr. Paulus Cassel has quite overlooked—it would require very strong evidence of a historical, instead of a merely mythical, character for supporting the view that the Warangian Rus had their special name from their reddish hair. Nor would I have gone into the mythological subject at all, were it not for the purpose of showing that this writer's opinion is without basis even on that ground.

III.

We will now turn again to real history for the solution of the question as to whether the Rus were so called from their fair hair. Here a language-test must be called into requisition, which will prove fatal to Dr. Cassel's theory. A few preliminary remarks may be of use before the decisive linguistic rules are applied.

The 'Rus' name came, as before mentioned, through the Finns to the Slavs. From the latter it must have been brought to the neighbouring Turko-Tatar Khazars, a somewhat highly cultivated nation, of partly Jewish, partly Mahommedan creed, who then had a flourishing realm in what is now southern Russia. By the Khazars the Rus name must have been transmitted to the Greek-speaking Byzantines, with whom those remarkable Turko-Tatars had large intercourse. Not the Greek language is therefore—as has been contended—the proper test, but the Finnish one. From Finnish, however, the word 'Russian' cannot be explained.

It is difficult to say with certainty whether among the Finns, in the ninth century, when the Germanic Rus arrived on their soil, there was already a fair-haired type, as there is among the Finnish populations to-day, at the side of a dark-haired one.

The Kalevala Epic, and the Esthnian Kalewipoeg Poem, I would suggest here, might be investigated in that direction. It is noteworthy, at any rate, that Tacitus, though emphasizing the reddish hair of the Germans, says of the Fennic (Finnish?) people in the farther Baltic quarters, that he is in some doubt whether they were to be reckoned among the Germans or the Sarmatians. This doubt rather leaves the possibility open of a blond Finnish type having been in existence already there. And for that very reason it becomes quite improbable that the Rus should have been specially singled out as the 'red-haired' ones by the Finns, upon whom they first came—even assuming that, in Finnish, 'Rus' would mean 'red-haired,' which is not the case.

Now for the fuller linguistic proof of Dr. Cassel's error. In opposition to Dr. Thomsen's interpretation of the word 'Russian' as a sea-farer, and in support of his own notion that the word is to be explained from the colour of the hair, Dr. Cassel quotes a passage from the Lombard Bishop Luitprand, of Cremona, who between 948-50 was at Constantinople, first as an envoy of King Berengar, and then as an ambassador of the German Emperor, Otto I. This very passage Dr. Thomsen has also given. It runs thus:—'A certain people lives in the North, whom the Greeks, from one of its bodily qualities, call 'Rusios,' but whom we, on account of the situation of its country, designate as Northmen (*quam a qualitate corporis Græci vocant Rúsios, nos vero, a positione loci, nominamus Nordmannos*).

Luitprand does not say which bodily quality it is. Professor Thomsen judiciously adds:—'This remark (of Luitprand) is founded on a wrong etymology, the name of the Russ being confounded with the Greek adjective 'ῥούσιος, red, red-haired."'

A glance at the history of the Russian name among the Byzantine Greeks themselves shows, indeed, clearly that this is one of those false etymologies which the Greeks and the Romans, especially in foreign matters, were rather prone to. From the day when the Russians are for the first time mentioned by Greek writers—namely, as companions of a Byzan-

tine embassy appearing, in 839, before the Emperor Ludwig the Pious—down to the middle of the tenth century, they are always called, in Greek, Rhos (Ῥῶς). Throughout this long lapse of time, the word Rhos, taken over from a foreign tongue, had no declination in Greek. Authors wrote in the nominative, in the genitive case, and so forth, exactly the same : οἱ Ῥῶς, τῶν Ῥῶς, etc. It is consequently clear that the word was pertectly incomprehensible to the Byzantines; hence, that it could not have arisen from the Greek for designating red-haired foreigners.

Even as the word 'Rhos' was used in Greek without case-endings, so also the Turko-Tatar tribal names, equally incomprehensible to the Byzantines, were given without declination in the then Hellenic tongue. For instance, writers said: οἱ Οὐάρ, τῶν Οὐάρ; οἱ Οὖζ, τῶν Οὖζ, etc. In presence of such facts, there can be no doubt whatever that the opinion as to the meaning of the later declinable Greek word 'Rusioi'—which was first used at Luitprand's time, that is, in the tenth century—simply had arisen from the transformation of the word 'Rhos' into 'Rusioi.' Then the mistaken explanation of the word crept in, as is often the case.

A German might as well think that England—that is Engle-land, or Angle-land—was called England on account of its narrow (*eng*), elongated, geographical configuration. Such popular misunderstandings and would-be etymological explanations are numerous enough; but they certainly have no scientific value. The history of the Hellenic tongue undeniably proves that the Russian name cannot have arisen from 'rusios,' red-haired. So this later pseudo-explanation is based on a manifest error.

IV.

As to the Warangian name, Professor Vilhelm Thomsen has also investigated its meaning with great care. His conclusion is, that this undoubtedly Germanic word, by which the 'Russian' and other Norse or Teutonic warriors were designated, who founded the Empire, did not originally mean a military league, as is generally supposed, but that it was really a people's name, and was used as a geographical appellation, denoting Scandinavia, more especially Sweden. In old Russian

chronicles, and among the Oriental writers of that time, the Baltic is called the Warang or Waering Sea. At the time of Tacitus, it may be brought to recollection, it was called the Swabian Sea (*Mare Suevicum*); the Swabian tribe of the Germans reaching in those days to the Baltic shores.

As regards the etymological derivation, Professor Thomsen would explain the word Warings, Varangians, Vaeringjar (in Greek Βάραγγοι) as men who have gone to 'find shelter and safety somewhere.' He compares with it the Anglo-Saxon word *wáerganga* and the Lombard *waregang*—both of which are interpreted as *advena:* one who has come in, a foreigner. Professor Thomsen thinks this Warang name was at first the 'Russian' (*i.e.* Germanic) denomination of the Scandinavians who came over to Russia; that the word was afterwards adopted by the Slavs in Russia as the national name of those people; and that it was gradually extended to denote the inhabitants of the Scandinavian lands in general.

I admit that Professor Thomsen's thesis is carefully worked out. Still, there remains the passage in Nestor, where the Russians rather appear as a subdivision of a Warangian Confederation, of which Angles also, forefathers of the English, were members. Now, it is a point not lightly to be overlooked, that Tacitus as well as Ptolemaios place the Angles and 'Warins' together on the Baltic shores. The idea easily suggests itself therefrom that the Latin word *Varini* is perhaps the oldest Waring name which has come down to us. This opinion has long ago been ably upheld by Dr. Hyde Clarke with striking evidence.

I have mentioned that the Sueves, Swebes, or Swabians, originally dwelt in northern as well as in some central and southern parts of Germany. The *Varini*, or Warins, like the Angles, were of this Suevic connection. When the Warins, or Warings, became the leaders of a military Confederation, their name—instead of that of the Suevians in general—may easily have become attached to the Baltic. Thus we could understand

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* *On the Settlement of Britain and Russia.* (Transactions of the Royal Historical Society. Vol. VII.)

that, by the Finns and Slavs, the Baltic was afterwards called the Waring Sea.

To the English, this Waring or Warangian name, which so many have only heard of in Russian and Byzantine history, ought to be of special interest. Daniel H. Haigh, who in his 'Anglo-Saxon Sagas' (London: 1861) has given most valuable results of researches, is practically at one with Dr. Hyde Clarke as regards the Waring share in the German conquest and settlement of Britain. Such names as Waringwick (Warwick); Warrington in Lancashire and Buckinghamshire; Warrington in Devon and Northampton; Warnborough, in Hants; Warnford, in Northumberland; and Warnham, in Suffolk, are held to be referable to the influx of Warings—just as the Angles left their name in Englefield and Englewood Forest; the Saxons theirs in Saxthorpe, Saxham, Saxtead, Saxton; the Teutonic Hunes (of whose kinship the mythic German hero Sigfried is, and who are not to be confounded with the Mongol Hunns) theirs in Hunworth, Hunton, Huncote, Hunwick, Hungate, Hunsdon, Hunshelf, Hunslet, Hunsley, the isle of Hunie, and a mass of other place-names from Norfolk up to Shetland; the Sweves, or Swabians, theirs in Swaffham, Swavesey, Swefling, Suavetorp; the Rugians, theirs in Rugby; and the Teutonic Finnians (not to be mistaken for what now are called Finns) their name in Finborough, Finney, Findern, and so forth.

Dr. Hyde Clarke claims the *Varini*, or Warins, hence the Russian Warangians, as next kinsmen of the German Engles, Angles, or English, rather than of the Scandinavian branch of the Teutonic race. He says:—'As the English have taken no heed of this matter, and the Scandinavians have, the latter loudly set up their claims to the Warings as Norsemen. To do this, they put aside the earlier history of the Warings, and they leave out the English, acknowledged by Nestor and the Byzantine writers, and they look only to the later share taken by the Norsemen. The Norsemen followed the Warings, and did not lead them.'

'In Russia'—the same author goes on—'the rights of the Warings as a race were fully upheld, as is seen in their laws.

These laws drew a line between the Waring and the Slav. They are framed like the Anglo-Saxon laws of the same time;'—or, let us say, like the laws of the Franks, the Goths, the Lombards, and so forth, in France, Italy, and Spain. Gradually, however, the Warangian Kings or Grand-Princes in Russia became half Slav, and ill-feeling grew up between them and the Warangian earls and their folk. But when in trouble, the Russian Grand-Princes took shelter among the Warings, and drew warriors from them, whilst always seeking to lessen their political weight for purposes of their own autocratic rule.

By and by, the Warangian nobles themselves began to add Slav names to their Germanic ones. So they gradually went down as a distinct race—even as happened with their German kinsmen in France, Italy, Spain, and Portugal.

'At the end of the eleventh century'—Dr. Hyde Clarke continues—'the succession of William the Norman to the kingdom of England caused many of the English to seek shelter abroad. Some fled to Scotland and founded houses there, but many went to Ireland, to Norway, to Russia, and so to Constantinople, where they joined the Waring or Warangian Guard of the Emperor. According to Scarlatus Byzantinus, as given to me by the Rev. Mr. Curtis, of Constantinople, the church of St. Nicholas and St. Augustine, at Constantinople, was built by one of these exiles, and was therefore a Latin, and not an orthodox or Greek church, taking one of its names from Augustine, the first missionary to the English. This, too, bears witness again to the share the English had in the Warangian Guard.'

Again:—'The twelfth century brought the Warings into fight with their old foemen, the Normans. Robert Guiscard, Duke of the Normans in Sicily, landed in Albania, and began the siege of Dyrrachium. Alexis Comnenus marched to its relief, and the main strength of his host consisted of Warangians, supported by Franks and Latins. A bloody fight took place before Dyrrachium, and the English, burning to revenge the overthrow of their fathers at Hastings, led the vanguard, making a deep impression with their battle-axes on the Calabrians and Lombards. The Duke and his wife rallied their

Norman horse, and striking the Warangians on their left flank, which the Greeks had left uncovered, turned the fate of the day. Dyrrachium, however, held out for seven months, when it was taken by Robert; but the Warangians still defended the country with their weakened body. Again they had another loss by the three hundred of the Guard being overtaken by the Normans in the town of Castovia. In the end, however, the Normans had to give way. In thankfulness for the endeavours of the Warangians, Alexius gave them a domain, said to be called Baringa, or Varinga. This is, in my belief, Wranya or Wranja, in the seat of the late war, some way between Petrina and Cobja, and also taken of late by the Austro-Hungarians.'

Angles and Varins—I should add to Dr. Hyde Clarke's researches—appear not only on the Baltic shores, and later on the Rhenish borders, but even as far south in Germany as Thuringia, namely, at the upper course of the river Unstrut. The '*Lex Angliorum et Werinorum, hoc est Thuringorum,*' is evidence of it. In those Thuringian quarters, not far from Greussen, there are villages called Kirchengel, Westengel, Feldengel, opposite Werningshausen. In these place-names, the Engle or Angle folk, and the Warings, evidently have left their mark. In the dialect of that district there are curious vestiges of certain peculiarities of English speech—for instance, in the way of forming the participle. People there say: *Er kam rittning* (he came riding). The usual German participle would be '*reitend.*'

V.

To conclude: the result of the investigations above detailed is, that the founders of the 'Russian' Empire, whose Germanic origin is beyond doubt, either had their name—as Dr. Thomsen thinks it likely—from a word meaning the Rowers, or Seafarers; or, as Dr. Hyde Clarke contends, from the Rugians. The name of the latter occurs in a variety of forms, such as *Ruani, Roani, Rujani, Ruia, Ruja, Roja,* etc., which comes close enough to Rhos or Rus. As to the Warangians, they were most probably of the Waring kinship of the Angles, forefathers

of the English; the name of the Warings themselves being preserved, like that of the Angles, in English place-names.

Branching off, in their war-raids and migrations, to the North-east as well as to the North-west, Scandinavian and German warrior-clans set up a Kingdom in Russia, which soon lost its Teutonic stamp, whilst the one founded on British soil by Jutes, Angles, Saxons, Frisians, Rugians, Hunes, and other German tribes, maintained its character in race and speech. In Russia, the Finnish, the Slav, and the Tatar element gradually overcame the effect of the Germanic Conquest. During the several centuries of the rule of the Golden Horde, the country even became Mongolized, and the last trace of freedom disappeared. In England, on the other hand, in spite of the Norman invasion, the old Germanic spirit of freedom, in course of time, powerfully revived.

To-day, in the far East, the two Empires which were originally founded by Germanic Norsemen, now nearly meet again: the one representing the cause of progress and civilization; the other, which is rapidly approaching the frontiers of India, being the worst type of despotic oppression in Europe. Year by year, the dividing wedge of a remnant of independent populations becomes ever narrower, until the day arrives, when, as it has been said, the Russian and the English sentinels will look into the white of each other's eyes. But the Russian name, for a great many centuries identified with barbarism and tyranny, is not one that appeals any longer to English feeling as that of kinsmen; and it is only through learned investigation that the ancient connecting link can be shown, which once bound together the English, the Warings, and the Rus.

KARL BLIND.

ART. V.—A SCOTTISH MERCHANT OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

THE commercial history of Scotland during the reign of James VI. is yet unwritten. There is ample information given by contemporary historians as to the turbulent political

movements of that period. The trials and triumphs of the Protestant Kirk of Scotland during the first century of its existence are detailed with garrulous fulness by Calderwood, by John Row, and by Scott in his *Apologetical Narrative.* The private life of the ministers of that time is fully indicated by the *Autobiography of James Melville*; and Moyses' *Memoirs* gives a graphic account of life in the last Scottish Court. The limited commerce of the previous century is illustrated by *Andro Hallyburtoun's Ledger*; and there are numerous volumes that throw light upon the commercial history of the country towards the close of the seventeenth century. But the period from 1566 till 1625 is almost barren of authentic evidence as to Scottish commerce, and even Scottish historians, finding so little to theorise upon, have encouraged the English notion that Scotland at that time was a poverty-stricken nation with no commercial history worth considering. Yet it was during this very period that the burgess-class first obtained a recognized position in Parliament, and that the merchants and craftsmen took their share in shaping the policy alike of Kirk and State. The Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs, so ably edited by Sir James D. Marwick, sufficiently show how the organisation of the middle classes ruled both the national and international commerce and industry of the country; but these volumes give little information as to the personal details of a merchant's life at the period referred to, his social intercourse, his methods of book-keeping, or the literature with which he improved his mind during his leisure hours.

There is now in the possession of Mr. A. C. Lamb, F.S.A., Scot., Dundee, a manuscript volume which gives exactly that kind of information regarding merchant life in the sixteenth century which has hitherto been lacking. This volume consists of 207 pages small quarto, bound in vellum, and belonged to David Wedderburn, merchant and bailie in Dundee, who was born *circa* 1560, and died subsequent to 12th December, 1630. The title page bears the inscription, 'David Wedderburnis Compt Buik, 9 November, 1587.' The writer has used the book during the forty-three years which it covers, as a

memorandum-book on business affairs, a record of notable events, an inventory of deeds relating to landed property, a register of the births of his numerous children, particulars as to his journeys to Flanders, Sweden, and Norway, a list of the books which he lent at various times from his library—in short, everything that could illustrate the private life of a well-to-do burgess during the long period from 1587 till 1630. The book seems to have lain constantly on the merchant's table, and was taken up by him whenever the circumstances of the day made it expedient to write some note as to family affairs or business matters. He was not particular as to which part of the volume he used, and there are thus two title-pages at opposite ends of the book, the one side of each page having the writing in consecutive order up till page 127, and the other part forming a different book by merely reversing the volume and writing the notanda from the back page forward. The second title-page describes the volume as *Liber Davidus Wedderburne, Senioris*, 1587. The entries in the volume do not follow chronologically, for though the book has been begun with the intention of writing the notes consecutively, in course of time the pages were almost filled, and then the writer looked through them for a blank space anywhere, in which he might note down the subject of the day. It will be at once seen that such a volume as this is of great historical value, with reference alike to commercial and personal history. Mr. Lamb has made use of many of the memoranda in his forthcoming elaborate illustrated volume on *Dundee: its Quaint and Historic Buildings*, but the book is not there treated exhaustively; and it is through his kindness that the following extracts have been made from the original manuscript.

David Wedderburne belonged to a family that was distinguished alike in national and civic history. The family name was derived from the lands of Wedderburne in Berwickshire, and James Wedderburne, a cadet of this family, settled in Dundee as a merchant in 1430. His son, James Wedderburne, followed the same calling, and rose to the position of Bailie of Dundee, which office he held in 1517 and 1523. He was succeeded by his son, James Wedderburne, Jr., who was

admitted Burgess of Dundee in 1514, and was an extensive landed proprietor in 1537. John Wedderburne of Tofts, Trosto, and Tullo-hill, was the son of James Wedderburne, Junior, and was the first of the family who held the office of Town-clerk of Dundee, an office that was occupied successively by members of the Wedderburne family for nearly a century and a half. He died in 1533, and was succeeded in the Town-clerkship by his son, David Wedderburne, who was married to Helen, daughter of Robert Lawson of Humbie, and was proprietor of the Hilton of Craigie in Forfarshire, and of the Mains of Huntly in the Carse of Gowrie. The account of the Wedderburnes of Kingennie given in Douglas' 'Baronage' is incorrect in this portion of the genealogy, as it omits entirely all reference to David's son and successor, Alexander Wedderburne of Tofts, and asserts that David Wedderburne died in 1590, though the burgh records of Dundee disprove this statement. Alexander Wedderburne of Tofts, was married to Janet Myln of Drimmie, and was the father of Bailie Wedderburne, the author of the manuscript under consideration. His eldest son was Alexander Wedderburne, Town-Clerk, who became first Baron of Kingennie in 1600, and was frequently employed in political affairs by James VI. Another son, James, was born in Dundee in 1585, and studied for the Church at Oxford. In 1631 he became Prebend of Whitechurch in Wiltshire, but shortly afterwards was appointed Professor of Divinity in St. Mary's College, St. Andrews. On 11th February, 1636, he was consecrated Bishop of Dunblane, but when Prelacy was abolished by the General Assembly of 1638, he was deposed and excommunicated. The reason given for dealing in an especially rigorous manner with Bishop Wedderburne was that 'he had been a confidential correspondent and agent of Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, in introducing the new Liturgy and Popish Ceremonies.' Wedderburne obtained the protection of his patron, the Archbishop, but did not long survive his deposition. He died in England on 23rd September, 1639, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and was buried in the Chapel of the Virgin Mary, within the Cathedral Church of

Canterbury, where his memorial stone still bears the following inscription:—

REVERENDISSIMUS IN CHRISTO
PATER JACOBUS WEDDERBURNUS, TAODUNI
IN SCOTIA NATUS,
SACELLI REGII IBIDEM DECANUS.
DUMBLANENSIS SEDIS PER ANNOS IV. EPISCOPUS:
ANTIQUÆ PROBITATIS ET FIDEI:
MAGNUMQUE OB EXCELLENTEM DOCTRINAM:
PATRIÆ SUÆ ORNAMENTUM.

John Wedderburne, younger brother of the Bishop, was educated as a physician, and rose to eminence in that profession. His reputation as a mathemetician was so great that he was appointed Professor of Mathematics in the University of Padua. This position he held for several years, but ultimately he resigned it, and spent the remainder of his life in the practice of medicine at Brinth, in Moravia. The other three sons of Alexander Wedderburne of Tofts, were Robert, Peter, and David, who were all merchants in Dundee. The latter of these was the author of the 'Compt Buik.' These brief notes as to his forebears and brethren will indicate his position in the social scale, and will show that he was connected with a powerful and wealthy family. The simplicity of his business transactions, and the system of barter disclosed by his book-keeping may therefore be taken as the prevalent custom in the foremost mercantile circles of the time.

The personal history of David Wedderburne is very completely shown by the entries in this remarkable note-book. He was admitted Burgess of Dundee on 15th May, 1582, seven days after his elder brother, Magister Alexander Wedderburne (afterwards first Baron of Kingennie and Town-Clerk of Dundee) had had his name inscribed on the Burgess Roll. In 1589 David Wedderburne was married to Matilda, daughter of Henry Betoun, litster (dyer), and their family consisted of four sons and seven daughters, the first-born, Helen, being married to George Auchinleck, in 1610, the year in which the youngest child, Henry, was born. There is no reference in the manu-

script volume to the death of Matilda Betoun, and it is possible that she survived her husband. She was certainly alive on 11th January, 1624, as at that date David Wedderburne, by a deed copied in the volume, resigned his 'lugeing and tenement, with yard bak and foir, lyand on the north pairt of the hie mercat gait of Dundie, in favouris of Mette Beton, my spous present.' As the latest entry in the volume is dated 12th December, 1630, when David Wedderburne would be about 70 years of age, it is probable that his death took place shortly after that time. He had therefore lived under three Sovereigns —Queen Mary, James VI., and Charles I., and had witnessed vast changes in Church and State in Scotland.

In dealing with this interesting manuscript it will be most convenient to give extracts relating (1) to memorable events, (2) to books which belonged to Bailie Wedderburne, and (3) to commercial memoranda that refer to systems of barter, coinage, export and import transactions, and curious domestic customs.

Amongst the remarkable events chronicled by David Wedderburne, the following contemporary account of the eclipse of the sun upon the day long afterwards known as 'Black Saturday' may be quoted:—

'Upoun the xxv. day of Februar, being Setterday, 1597, the signe in pisces, Quhilk was accomptit the ecclips of the sone and cheynge of the mone, Betwix ten and ellevin houris before nwn darknes overshaddowit the face of the haill earth that nane micht knaw ane uther perfytly on the calsayis, nor yit mycht nae persone within thair housis haif any lycht but candill; Quhilk contenwit the space of half ane houre, and the peiple with gryt feir fled aff the calsayis to houssis, mourning and lamenting, and the crawis, corbeis, and ravenous foullis fled to houssis, to our Steple and tolbuith, and schip toppis, maist merveulously affrayit. Quhilk sycht wes maist terreble and fairfull to all peiple young and auld, and nane persone levand culd declair they evir hard or saw the lyk thame selffis in ony tyme preceiding.'

As it may be presumed that David Wedderburne was inclined towards Episcopacy, he did not see in this eclipse the fearful portents of coming troubles in the Kirk of Scotland, which were plainly visible to the Presbyterians of the time. The three ecclesiastical writers who refer to this event,—Calderwood, Scott, and James Melville,—all ascribe 'the prognos-

ticke of the eclipse' to the defection of their Presbyterian brethren. Here is Calderwood's account of the incident, which differs from that of Wedderburne only as to the hour and the duration of the phenomenon :—

'Upon Saturday, the 25th of Februar, betuixt nyne and tenne houres before noone, beganne a fearfull eclipse, which continued about two houres. The whole face of the sunne seemed to be couered and darkenned about half a quarter of an houre, in such measure that none could see to reade on a booke. The starres appeared in the firmament. Sea, land, and aire was still, and strucken dead as it were. The ravens and fowles flocking together mourned exceedinglie in their kinde. Great multitudes of paddocks [frogs] ranne together, making an uncouth and hideous noise ; men and weomen were astonished, as if the day of judgement had been comming. Some wemen swooned. The streets of Edinburgh were full of cryes. Some ranne off the streets to the Kirk to pray. The like fearefull darknesse was never seene in this land, so farre as we can read in our historeis, or understand by tradition. The wise and godliest thought it verie prodigious, so that from pulpit and by writt admonitiouns were given to the ministers, that the changeable and glistering shew of the world goe not in betuixt them and Christ, the Sunne of righteousnesse, and remove the cleere light of the Gospell from the Kirk. And, indeed, if the estat of bishops which then was in hatching continue long, it will not faile to bring on darknesse and ignorance, atheisme and Poprie. The like feare-full eclipse of the sunne, and appearance of fallin starres from the heaven, was seene in France, when men of greatest estimation were intised by flatterie and gifts to agree upon a middle betuixt Papists and Protestants, which had been effectuated if God had not cut them off in a strange maner.'

William Scott, minister of Cupar, and author of the *Apologetical Narration of the State of the Kirk*, is equally precise in his interpretation of the warning given by the eclipse :—

'Upon Saturday, the 25th of February, fell forth that fearfull eclipse of the sun, which continued the space of two hours, so fearfull that that Saturday is yet called by the people 'the Black Saturday' : a prognostick, as the tymes gave occasion to interpret, of that darknesse which was to fall upon the Kirk.'

James Melville was similarly convinced that though the phenomenon was natural, and, indeed, had been foretold by him, it was intended as a distinct portent of coming troubles, and he even adds the names of eminent men who died in the course of the year, as 'notable effects' of the celestial wonder:

'In that Februar, betwix the Synods Provinciall and Generall, was that maist conspicuous eclipse of the sunne, quhilk strak all creatours with sic estonishment and feir, as tho' the day of Judgment haid bein com. I knew befor it was to com: I was nocht ignorant of the naturall cause thairof; and yet when it cam to the amazfull, uglie, alriche [eldricht] darknes, I was cast on my knies, and my hart almaist fealled. On that I gave this warning:—

In Februar, the twentie-five exack,
We saw the sunne, the tent hour of the day
Begin to loss his light and turn to blak,
Whilk piece and piece his whait did weare away.
The cause is this, as learned men do say,
The darksum bodie of the changing moone
Cam in betwix our sight and Phœbus gay,
And hid from us his halsome light sa soone.
Amid the meitings of our Kirk this done,
Portends the dark and variable warld
Sall com betwix the Kirk and Christe abone,
And mak his Pastors crewked, blind, and thral'd!
Then statlie stars stik fast and tak gude tent,
The dragon's taill will reng the firmament!'

There is another curious historical and prophetical memorandum which has been inserted in the volume by David Wedderburne in 1613, after one part of the prophecy had been fulfilled. The marginal note declares that 'Robert, my father's brother, gef me this quhilk he said wes giffin him in Vittemberg.' The following is an exact transliteration of the Latin as written by him:—

'*J. 6. Rex noster natus fuerat in carcere Edinburgense 19 Junij 1566, inter horas 9 et 10, ante meridian.*

In anno 1575.

R. erit versulus irrequietus Consiliorum
Occultator, ac fundet regni sui amplicit.'

It was not, perhaps, difficult to foretell that a kingdom which had already been under four Regents during the short life of the King, would be greatly extended and pacified when that King came into power and the Crown of England fell to him by heritage.

Two curious entries in the 'Compt Buik' as to visits paid by James VI. to Dundee are of some historical interest. Under date 7th June, 1594, there appears the memorandum 'Lent

Alexander Pierson xl ss. quhan the King wes heir.' There is no record of a visit by the King to Dundee at this date, though it is certain that on 7th and 8th October in that year he was in the burgh when on his expedition to the North. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that on 8th June the King confirmed, at Holyrood-house, a charter in favour of Alexander Ramsay, Bailie of Dundee, and no other charter was signed by him at Holyrood between 4th May and 8th May. The other entry is still more interesting as giving the description by an eye-witness of the memorable visit to Dundee by the King in 1617, when 'saumont-like' he returned to the land of his nativity. The passage reads thus:—

'Upoun the xv Maij 1617, James, be the grace of God, Kyng of Gryt Bretan, France, and Iyrland, defender of the faith, our native King, being mouit of his awin gude inclenatione to wissie Scotland and his awin people cam to Edinburgh, Thairefter cam our the wattir of Kyngorne and cam to Falkland, and on the xxi of May being Weddensday cam our the wattir of Dundie, and schippit at the South Ferry and landit at the Rude, And cam to Dudop lait and suppit thair. The morn tymous he red to Kynnaird and remanit all that day, Fryday, Setterday, Sonday, Mononday, Tysday, Weddensday, Thursday, and enterit in to Dundie on Fryday at houris, quhar than the toun gef of his greace to thame his presence.'

It was on this occasion that Bailie Wedderburne's brother, the Town Clerk, delivered a Latin address of welcome to the King, which contains quite as much of the fulsome flattery with which the monarch was everywhere received as any of the eulogistic poems that were delivered during the Royal Progress. Alexander Craig, of Rose-Craig, who met the King at Kinnaird Castle on his arrival from Dundee, presented him with a Latin poem and an English set of verses, and outvied his fellow-eulogists by representing that even the raging floods of Forth and Tay were abashed at the august presence of this mighty King, 'as of the sun in his strength.' One verse from this poem will show the abject mental prostration of the flatterers, whose intemperate praise might have turned a stronger head than that of the British Solomon:—

'Yet now thou deigns to visit our cold North,
And with thy Court hast crost the sinuose Forth,
Which, with meanders winding here and there,

> Great Britain's King upon her back did beare,
> Whois boundin billoes (as they did of yore)
> Shall set thee sure upon their yonder shore.
> And statelie Tay, with stryving streames which marches
> And akorns his course shall be control'd with arches,
> Who with his speates in spightfull raige hath droun'd
> The famouse Perth's faire Bridge and brought to ground,
> Shall straine the strenght of his strong streams, thou'll see,
> And be at peace with all the world for thee.'

The visit of the King had made it necessary to make great preparations for his coming, and the control of these had been committed to Lord Binning (afterwards first Earl of Haddington), who found the crossing of the Tay to be a serious obstacle in the royal route, in consequence of the limited means of transport. He wrote to the King on this subject thus:—'It is not sene how your Majestie's stuffis can be transported and in due tyme placed at Kinnaird, unless your Majestie stay two nights at Dundie on your first passage, and mak the lyke stay at Dundie in your returne from Kinnaird.' It appears from the Wedderburne manuscript, however, that one night spent at Dudhope Castle was sufficient to permit of the completion of arrangements at Kinnaird Castle for the reception of the King.

A disputed point in the genealogy of the Scrymgeoures of Dudhope may be regarded as settled by an entry in this Wedderburne volume. It is usually stated that Magdalen Livingstone, daughter of the fifth Lord Livingstone and sister of one of the 'Queen's Maries,' was married first to Sir Alexander Erskine of Gogar, and afterwards to John Scrymgeoure of Glaister, father of Sir James Scrymgeoure of Dudhope. On the other hand it is stated that Sir James was married to Margaret, daughter of Sir Robert Carnegy of Kinnaird, and no other wife is mentioned in connection with his name. But examination of contemporary documents proves that a whole generation has been omitted in this genealogy. Margaret Carnegy must have died soon after her marriage, for Sir James Scrymgeoure was unquestionably married to Lady Magdalen Livingstone, who was not his mother but his wife. To this day the initials of Sir James Scrymgeoure and his wife, Dame Magdalen Livingstone, may be seen carved on portions of

Dudhope Castle, that were reconstructed by them in 1600. The death of Sir James is thus recorded by Bailie Wedderburne:—

'Upoun the xiij day of July, 1612, at fyve houris in the morning The richt honourabill Schir James Scrymgeour of Dudop, Knycht, Constable of Dundie, ane very noble and gude man, deit in Cristiane Lindsayis ludgeing within the abbay of Halyrud-hous in Edinburgh, his sone and Dame Magdalen Livingstoun his lady being with him thair.'

Sir James Scrymgeoure's son mentioned in this note was Sir John Scrymgeoure, afterwards first Viscount Dudhope, and grandfather of the first Earl of Dundee. David Wedderburne seems to have acted as factor for Sir James in the uplifting of the dues of the Magdalen Chaplainry, and there is a long account on one of the pages of the volume which gives some interesting details as to the prices of commodities that Wedderburne had purchased with the funds at his command. At one time the Earl of Mar had resided at Dudhope Castle with Sir James, and David Wedderburne credits himself with 'Item to Robert Wedderburne for wyld meit quhen the Earl of Mar wes with him, lij ss.' The following entries also appear in this account:—

'Item, he playing with Mr. Alexander Gibsone and Mr. Alexander Levingstoune, he directit me to Dundie for sylver, and I brocht him up - - - - - xij lib.
Item for a rym of peper I coft to him, - - - - xl ss.
Item for peper to wryt the buik John Tyrie and I wret, - xii ss.
Item thairefter for peper, - - - - - - - vj ss. 8d.
Item for twa pund puder to Robert Kendo, - - - 32ss.
Item the Laird coft fra me himself a punshon of quhyt wyn efter his fatheris deceis extendis to threescoir lib.
I debursit for a quhinger to the Laird's father, - - xlviij ss.'

Though there is no precise date on this account, it extends apparently from 1607 until some time after the death of Sir James Scrymgeoure in 1612. It has probably been made up to clear the bypast transactions between Wedderburne and Sir James when the new Laird of Dudhope entered into possession of the estate.

Amongst the curious notes scribbled at various parts of the volume, there are several of interest from their quaintness of language as well as from the glimpses they give of this charac-

teristic Scottish merchant. On the fly-leaf, for instance, David Wedderburne has copied (or composed) a Latin epitaph on his father and mother, supplying a translation in the vernacular:—

EPITAPHIUM ALEXANDRI WEDDERBURNE, ARCHIGRAPHI DEIDONAM ET JONETE MYLN EIUS CONJUGIS.

Hic vno, quos thoro coniunxerat, vno
Mors vna tumulo condidit
Vna Ambos donec reddat Lux vnius olim
Beatitatis computes.

Tua, quhome in lyve ane Bed did keip, now dead
In one grave dois include,
Quhill on ane day pairtaikeris they be maid
Of ane Beatitude.

A variation upon this epitaph may yet be seen on one of the tombstones in the Howff, or old cemetery of Dundee, which marks the grave of William and Grissel Ramsay, dated 1640:—

In one bed we both did keep,
In one grave we both do sleep;
I hope the grave shall us restore
Both again to His heavenly glore.

On another page in the volume there is the Latin *Epitaphium Mariæ Stuartæ Scotorum et Francie Reginæ*, beginning *Regibus orta, Auxi Reges, Reginaque vixi*, which is well known to students of Marian literature; and which is also written on several volumes of the Protocol Books in Dundee that belonged to Alexander Wedderburne, the Town Clerk, brother of David Wedderburne. The piety of the author of the manuscript is shown by the following memorandum:—

'January, 1611. Thir inscriptiones to be ingravin in the lyntil above the pilleris of my galry.

DEUM TIME.

Gloria Deo De Creatione.
Gloria Deo De Mortificatione.
Gloria Deo De Resurrectione et Redemptione.
Gloria Deo In Æternum Lux nostro in Christo.
Victrix casta Fides. Deus Abrahamj Isaacj et Jacobj Is meus est Deus.'

The superstition with which certain days were regarded as lucky or unlucky, even by those in the social station of David Wedderburne, is shown by the following curious table:—

'The yeir hes 33 evill dayes. This generalie forder contenit in the Schipherdis Calender.

8. Januar.	the first, 2, 4, 5, 10, 15, 18, 19.
3. Februar.	the 8, 10, 17.
3. Merche.	15, 16, 19.
2. Apryle.	16, 21.
3. May.	7, 15, 20.
2. Junij.	4, 7.
2. Julij.	15, 20.
2. August.	19, 20.
2. September.	6, 7.
1. October.	6.
2. November.	15, 19.
3. December.	6, 7, 9.

The blissit dayis of the yeir The quhilk wes revelit to the gude patriarche Joseph quhen he servit Kyng Pharow in Egypt be the Angell of God.

Evill dayis allowit be thame that wret this.	
1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 5, ...	Januar hes 2 to wit the 3 and 13.
6, 17, 8, ...	Februar 2 viz. : the 5 and 25.
7, 15, ...	Merche hes 3 viz. : 2, 3, and 30.
6, 16, 17 18, ...	Apryle hes 3 viz : 5, 22, 26.
7, 15, 17, ...	May hes 2 viz : 4, 27.
1, ...	Junij hes 2 viz : 3, 8.
15, 18, ...	Julij hes 3 viz : 12, 13, 7.
19, 20, ...	August hes ane viz : the 12.
16, 18, ...	September hes 4 viz : 1, 7, 24, 27.
6, ...	October hes 2 viz : 13, 19.
15, 16, ...	November hes none.
6, 7, 11, ...	December hes 2 viz : 18, 27.'

An examination of this remarkable table shows that David Wedderburne, by an obscure astrological process, had cancelled some of the days declared to be 'evil' by the Shepherd's Calendar, and had considerably increased the number of evil days in the year, if the first list were to be added to his own. He admits 31 evil days into his own Calendar, and only 17 of these coincide with the list in the Shepherd's Calender, so that he had to be careful of his actions on 47 days of the year.

Throughout the manuscript volume there are repeated references to books which he lent to his friends for perusal, and these notes show in a striking manner the kind of literature with which a Scottish merchant of the sixteenth century con-

cerned himself. Amongst these books there will be found the titles of works on navigation, arithmetic, Scottish history, classical Latin and Greek poetry and philosophy, legal books, theology, the Bible both in Hebrew and Greek, travels, astrology, geography—in short, a wide expanse of subjects such as would not now be found in a merchant's library unless he were also a bibliophile. The following extracts have been taken as examples of the popular literature of the burgess-class in the reign of James VI. On 7th November, 1621, David Wedderburne devoted a whole page of his volume to the recording of books that he had lent, and these may be examined in detail:—

'Lent James Balfour, sone to Michell Balfour of Monquhany, Metamorphosis Ovidii in Laten, with the pictouris, bound in ane swyne skyn of verry braw binding, sumtyme apertening to Robert Wedderburne, my uncle, with ane uther buik of Inglis of Emblemis in meter, for the space of ane month.'

It is not easy to discover which edition of Ovid is here referred to. Probably it was the famous edition revised by Andrea Navagero, the Italian poet, which was published in London in 1582; but as the volume had belonged to the uncle of David Wedderburne, it may have been the Leyden edition of 1519 with woodcuts, or the Leyden edition revised and published in 1524. The style of the binding seems to suggest a Continental origin for the book. The 'buik of Inglis of Emblemis' was most likely the work of Geoffrey Whitney of Nantwich (*ob.* 1603) which bore the following title: 'A Choice of Emblems and other Devises, for the moste parte gathered out of sundrie Writers, Englished and Moralised and Divers newly Devised. Imprinted at Leyden, in the House of Christopher Plantyn, by Francis Raphelengius, 1586.' This book was republished in 1866 under the editorial care of the Rev. Henry Green, M.A. Raphelengius was the son-in-law and successor of the famous printer, Plantyn.

'Lent my Cornieclis to John Ochterlony of Murrois. . . . Mr. John Mairis Cornicle.'

This latter was unquestionably the Paris edition of 1521 of John Mair or Major's work, *Historia Majoris Britanniæ tam Angliæ quam Scotiæ*, which was translated by Mr. Archibald

Constable and published by the Scottish History Society in 1892. The earlier mentioned 'Cornieclis,' however, may refer either to Hector Boece's Chronicles or to Ralph Holinshead's work, as both these volumes are entered in different parts of the manuscript. The former of these is distinctly described as 'Hector Boethius in Latin,' and would thus be either the Parisian edition of 1526 or that of 1575. Holinshead's book is usually referred to as the 'Chronicles of England, Ireland, and Scotland,' or 'my Inglis Cornicles,' and a curious entry shows how the book came into Wedderburne's possession: '2 Apryle, 1597; John the officer at command of Peter Clayhillis, Bailie, arestit in David Thomsonis maryneres handis ane Cronicle of Scotland, Ingland, and Ireland, sumtume pertenand to Thomas Man, now to Elizabeth Heres and Alex^{r}. Man his sone, and that for 13 lib. x ss. awin be the said umq^{le} Thomas to me, David Wedderburne, on his obligatioune.' The volume, which would probably be the edition of 1577, had been an heirloom in Man's family.

'Lent James Symsone, Blundevill, Drackis Voyages, and ane sie buk.'

The James Symsone here mentioned was the husband of David Wedderburne's second daughter Eufam, to whom he was married in 1610. He was a shipmaster, and the books borrowed by him bore upon the subject of his vocation. Blundeville was an especial favourite with Symsone, as in another part of the MS. the entry occurs: 'Lent James Symsone my Blundeville buik to reid on quhill he com out of Stokholm.' It is not easy to tell which of the numerous works by Thomas Blundeville, the famous mathematician, is here referred to. It is probable that it would be either 'A Brief Description of Universall Mappes and Cards, and of their Use,' published in 1589; or his 'Theoriques of the Planets, together with the making of two Instruments for Seamen to find out the Latitude without seeing Sun, Moon, or Stars, invented by Dr. Gilbert,' which was published in London in 1602. The volume of 'Drackis Voyages' may have been either the Latin version printed by Raphelengius at Leyden in 1588, and entitled *Expeditio Francisci Draki, Equites Angli, in Indias Occidentalis, MDLXXXV., quâ Urbes Fanum D. Jacobi, D. Dom-*

enici, D. Augustini, et Carthagena captæ fuere. Additis passim Regionum Locorumque omnium Tabulis geographicis quam accuratissimis; or it may have been one of the two English translations published at London in 1589.

'Lent the Laird of Creich my Ortelius. . . . 25 September, 1613. Lent my buik callit Ortelius, cost me vj lib., to the young laird of Creich for xx. dayis.'

This volume was the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* or Universal Geography written by the famous Dutch geographer, Abraham van Oertel or Ortelius, and published at Amsterdam in 1570. Beaton of Creich had a special affection for this book, as he borrowed it again in 1621.

'Lent Mr. Josua Dury ane Hebrew Bybell. . . . Mr. Colin Campbell a buik, the Laten Bybell.'

Joshua Durie was the son of the Reformer, John Durie (born 1537, died 1600), and was successively minister of the second charge in Montrose, of Forfar, of Logie-Montrose, of St. Andrews, (second charge), and of Inverkeillor. His sister was the wife of James Melville of Kilrenny, the author of the 'Autobiography.' He died at Inverkeillor in 1631. Colin Campbell was minister of Kettins, and was translated to the third charge at Dundee in 1620, where he remained till his death in 1638. It is not a little strange to find two ministers borrowing Hebrew and Latin Bibles from a merchant's library, but David Wedderburne had a reputation for having books of this description. Thus, on another occasion it is noted that 'Mr. William Fergusone,' who was a physician in Dundee, and the son of the renowned David Ferguson of Dunfermline, the friend of John Knox, borrowed 'ane Laten New Testament with the pictur, owergilt.' At another time Thomas Findlasoun, the King's Printer, borrowed 'my bressin Scriptour'; while Wedderburne's brother-in-law, Alexander Pierson, obtained the 'Parapris on the New Testament.' Among the book-borrowers appears the name of 'the Bischop Mr. David Lyndsay,' who had been teacher of the Grammar School at Dundee, and ultimately became Bishop of Edinburgh.

'Lent Thomas Vichtan, Smythe's Sermones and ane uther buik.'

Richard Smythe, D.D., whose volume is here probably referred to, was a learned Popish Divine, born in Worcestershire in 1500, Professor of Divinity at Oxford, and Chaplain to Queen Mary of England. He preached a sermon at the martyrdom of Ridley and Latimer, choosing for his text the very suggestive phrase, 'Though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.' The greater portion of his writings consists of refutations of the doctrines of Calvin, Melancthon, and other Reformers. He died in 1563, and in 1572 one of his sermons was published by the Protestant party under the title, 'A Sermone by Dr. Smythe, with which he entertained his Congregation in Queen Mary's Reign,' which was intended to throw ridicule upon his memory. This was probably the book lent to Thomas Vichtan, who was a Notary Public, and whose father had been a priest converted to Protestantism at the Reformation. Another book of this kind referred to in one of Wedderburne's lists is called 'The Kyngis Apologie,' and was probably a tractate written by a Romish priest for the purpose of proving that James VI. was really in favour of Romanism, and counselling patience on the part of his co-religionists. It was entitled 'An Apologie for the King.' The work is very rare now, and the Scottish History Society proposes to republish it from the only known copy in the British Museum Library.

'Lent Mr. John Wedderburne 4 buikes, Socrates, Moral Philosophie, Erasmus in Inglis.'

Magister John Wedderburne was probably that brother of David Wedderburne who afterwards became Bishop of Dunblane. The copy of Erasmus would most likely be the '*Enchiridion militis Christiani*, or The Hansom Weapon of a Christian Knyght, replenished with many goodly and godly Precepts, Imprinted by Wynkyn de Worde, London, 1534.'

'Lent young Petir Wedderburne Doctor Faustus.'

In 1588 there was published in London 'The History of the Damnable Life and Deserved Death of Dr. John Faustus,' and four years afterwards there appeared 'The Second Report of Doctor John Faustus, conteaning his Appearances, and the

Deeds of Wagner.' These formed the material from which Christopher Marlowe constructed his drama, 'The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus,' which was first published in 1602. It is more probable that the volume lent in 1621 was the 'History' translated from the German, rather than the drama; for David Wedderburne, like many of his time, had a weakness for astrology and the magical arts. Another of the books which he records several times as being lent is called his 'Book of Prophecies,' its full title being 'A Discoursive Probleme concerning Prophecies, how far they are to be valued or credited, according to the surest rules and directions in Divinitie, Philosophie, Astrologie, and other learning. Devised especially in abatement of the terrible threatenings and menaces peremptorily denounced against the Kingdoms and States of the World this present famous yeare 1588, supposed the great wonderfull and fatall yeare of our age.' He writes also of another mystical work which he calls 'My Book of Walking Sprittis,' a necromantic volume by Lavaretus of Tigurine, which bore the compendious title, 'Of Ghosts and Spirites Walking by Night, and of Strange Noyses, Crackes and sundrie Forewarnynges, which commonly happen before the death of Menne, great Slaughters, and alterations of Kyngdomes.' It seems to have been the English version published by R. Watkins of London, in 1572, that Wedderburne had.

'Lent the gudwyf of Pitlathy my Chaucer. . . . Henry Guthrie's sone, the Sege of Thebes.'

In the sixteenth century there were several editions of Chaucer published, with John Lydgate's 'Story of Thebes' added at the end of the volumes. The above entry implies that Wedderburne had them as separate books. Chaucer's works were published in 1532, 1542, and 1559, without 'Lydgate's poem': and in editions of 1561, 1598, and 1602 'The Storie of Thebes' was included. It is possible that Wedderburne used the title of his book with reference to the portion of it that the borrower wished to peruse. Lydgate's poem was first printed in Stow's edition of Chaucer in 1561.

'Lent Dr. Goldman 4 buikes, Iliades Homerij, and ane uther Greek buik. . . . James Crychtoun, my Vergill. . . . Ultimo Martij 1618, Robert Betoun and my sone James hes tane up with thame to West hall to reid on, Plutarche in Laten, owergilt; Quintiliane ante signa lexicon to reid a quhyle thairin, and to bring thame with thame again. . . . Lent Michel Meill my gilt Ovid . . . my Fabellis of Esope.'

The first edition of Homer that was printed in this country was published in 1591; but as David Wedderburne had constant intercourse with the Continent it is very likely that his copy had been brought from Holland. The Dr. Goldman who borrowed the Homer was Peter Goldman, the celebrated Latinist, whose poems were published in the *Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum*, and who was closely connected with the Wedderburnes by marriage ties. Of the Fables of Æsop there were two editions published shortly before this time,—one by Wynkyn de Worde in 1534, and another issued at London in 1580. There were three editions of Quintilian's *Institutionum Oratorium* extant before the date of the entry,—the Leyden edition of 1536 by Sebastian Gryphius; the Paris edition of 1542 by Robert Estienne; and the second Paris edition of 1549, by Estienne's successor, Michel de Vascosau.

'I lent Alexander Peersone at Vardmylne, my gude brother, my Frensche Academie, bundin in red owergilt . . . the beuk callit Eneme to Athesme . . . Arithmetik in Inglis . . . buik of fisches in Frensche . . . the Roten fall . . . and a buik of John Knoxis.'

Of these miscellaneous volumes the most peculiar is the arithmetical book, the full title of which was 'An Introduction for to lerne to reken with the Pen and with the Counters, after the true Cast of Arithmetyke or Awgrym in hole numbers and also in broken; newly corrected, and certayne Rules and Ensamples added thereunto.' This volume was first printed in black letter in 1537, and was reprinted in 1539, 1546, 1574, 1581, and 1595. The books mentioned in these extracts from the manuscript are sufficient to indicate the literary taste of David Wedderburne.

The multifarious commercial transactions recorded in the manuscript volume throw much light upon the system of trading with foreign countries which was followed at the time. It was usual for a merchant to place his cargo of home produce

in the hands of the captain, who had power to sell the goods to the best advantage in foreign parts, and to purchase another cargo of goods which he might either bring direct to Dundee or trade away at another port for a different class of merchandise. The following entry shows the method of contract between the shipper and the captain, and may be taken as a representative example:—

'14 September, 1590.—Receavit by you fra me by my brother Robert, in ventour with him in the Nychtingall, quhairof James Dees is Maister, fourtene crownes of the sone of gold and wecht and half ane last of hering schippit with him in the said schip. The fre money of the haill to be imployit in all voagis that he sall happin to mak befor his hamecuming, or sic profitable waring as he des to himself. And gif he cum hame the hie way, to imploy it haill on the best sort of waid, to be schipit with himself and markit with my mark D. W. Item. Delyverit him sex crownes of the sone of the sam wecht, quhilk maks in the haill twentie crownes of the sone to be imployit to me in maner abone wryttin, forby the half last hering foirsaid.'

Another shipment in the *Perill*, on 1st October 1593, consisted of eleven score and eight ells of 'bred clayth, with x quarteris of tuidling quhairin it is pakit,' which was to be sold and gros grain silk purchased with the proceeds:—'To be warit on gren gif it may be haid gude and gude cheap, failing on quhyt and clarit wynis, to cum hame the hie way in the *Perill*, or els in the first that cumis reddiest.'

Some idea of the miscellaneous trade then carried on by a Scottish merchant may be formed when it is stated that David Wedderburne exported wheat to Spain, herring to France, powder to Rouen and Bordeaux, salmon to Flanders, cloth to Norway, and 'woffin beddis cloth' to Sweden. In exchange for these he imported wines—'Clarit, Burdeaux, Alagant, Muskedallis and quhyt wine'—from France and Spain; 'apels and unzeons' from Flanders; lint from Norway and Sweden, silk, velvet, vinacre, 'oly doly' (olive oil), from France; 'pentit brods owergilt' (pictures) from Holland; silk 'grew grain,' confectionery, and 'sucher candee' from Flanders; 'murmblade' from Spain, and countless other commodities intended rather for the upper classes than for the craftsmen. From the recorded transactions in the volume it would be possible to

make up a very complete tariff of prices during the long period which it covers.

The intercourse with foreign nations made it necessary to have a standard of exchange for the current coin of the Continent; and it is startling to notice how great was the difficulty found in collecting foreign coins when a journey abroad was contemplated. The following list shows the miscellaneous coinage with which David Wedderburne set forth on a voyage to foreign parts:—

'24 Maij. 1600. My voage God willing to Queinsbrig.
I haue with me sex scoir fyve crounes of the sone.
Item v single Pistolattis.
Item a croce Ducat.
Item 2 double ducattis a half.
Item the Kyngis xl. s. pece, Item the 2 merk pece, baith extending to xj lib.
Item 3 Angell nobles.
Item a saffron at 8 merk.
Item nyn 8-merk peces.
Item 3 4-merk peces of gold.
Item 3 sitting lyon peces at 8 merk the pece.
Item 2 ringis of gold brokin, weyis 4 crounis.
Item xv auld dolouris.
Item 3^{xx} xj ryellis of 8.
Item a 3 gross stik.
Item of Inglis sylver 3^{xx} 2 lib worth.
Item 37 Scottis ten s. peces.
Item 84 merk peces in sylver.
Item x merk of Scottis xxx s. peces and 2 merk peces.
Item a pece of sylver of Kyng Erik of Suadyns gold.
I haif payit with James Bylour for my victuallis by [besides] the furnessing of my kist and uther thingis thairin wryttin in the Buik with me, 3 lib. 3 ss.

Summa xiij^{c}. The gold is 8^{c} and 3^{xx} merkis and ten twentie merks. The sylver extendis 14^{xx} xj lib. or thairby.

This by [besides] David Coustounis sylver of 3^{xx} x dolouris x ryellis quhilk he hes venturit with me, and ordainit to wair as my awin. I haif xij ellis Narrow blew of Alexander Nicollis venture with me to wair on lynt to him.'

Some of the obsolete customs with reference to the hiring of servants and the employment of craftsmen are illustrated

by several of the entries in the volume. Thus the system of giving bounties to servants over and above their wages is referred to in this memorandum :—

'xv December, 1589.—Payit Walter Mores for the first quarteris payment of the secound yeir xxxiij ss. iiij d. This quarter to ryn a quarter of a yeir, or fourteen dayis three oukis efter Youll nixtocum, and he hes receavit a pair of brekis in bountay.'

The cost of firearms and the strange way in which past payments were made when the arms were first ordered and while they were in progress is shown in the next quotation :—

'9 September, 1594.—Giffin Patrik Ramsay, smyth, a croune of the sone in arrels of a pair of pistolattis. Item xx. ss. Item a croune of the sone agane. Item 3 lib. of sylver. Item, gev William his man at Mr. Alexanderis yett ane croune of the sone. Item, ane half merk of small sylver. Item xl. ss. in the buith to himself.'

There is a note of a curious bargain made by David Wedderburne regarding his claim to an annual rent due to him from a house in Dundee, under date 9th April, 1596.

'Niniane Capen and Margaret Jak, his spouse, are oblist be thair faythfull promes to me besyd the mercat croce to pay me ilk voage he makis a Knag of Vinacre and can oyle doly howsone he passis to Burdeaux to begin, and this for my renunciatione of the 4 lib. annuell haid yeirly furth of his hous.'

Another strange arrangement is recorded thus :—

'4 May, 1610.—James Myln in Elgyn hes in presens of James Fethie, Alexander Myln, and William Davidsone younger, promesit me yeirly induring his lyftyme a quart of Aquavitie for the favour and courtesie he hes receavit fra me anent the Aprobatione of his auld infeftments.'

On another occasion David Wedderburne makes the bargain that for the favour he has shown to a certain skipper he is to receive 'a velvit hat from Flanders.'

It was not unusual for Scottish merchants to send cloth to France to be dyed when some specially rich colour was required, and several entries refer to this practice.

'xxj. December, 1613.—Send with Robert Auchinlek to Deip or Ruen 4 ellis 7 quarter braid blew clayth to be Littit [dyed] of a sad and grave cullour, the example I prenit on his commissioune, and hes giffin him xij. ss. stirling to pay thairfor, and quhat mair or less we to compleat at meeting. In Thomas Halyburtounis litel bark.'

'14 December, 1604.—I inbruikit in the schip quhairof James Jak is master under God xij elnis and a quarter bred thickit blew warzit clayth, and send the sam with Alexander Bultie to Rouen to be littit ayther tanny or else rusche broune. Siclyk I send thairwith with him ane narrow pece quhyt claith thikit of 7 ellis a half to be littit fine scarlit to be my lasses weylecottis.'

Another branch of the domestic life of a Scottish merchant in the sixteenth century is illustrated by the account Wedderburne gives of the weapons which he kept in his house for his own defence,—cross-bows, rapiers, pistolets, hakbuts, pikes, and swords of various kinds. Amongst the heirlooms of the family there was an 'aiken cradell,' which had been purchased when Wedderburne's first-born daughter came into the world, and which long afterwards is noted as having been borrowed by his second daughter, Effie, when his grandchild was born. During his long married life he had succeeded, as the old Scottish bye-word has it, in 'keeping the cradle rowin', for hardly had his youngest son, Henry, left its shelter, than the little cot was occupied by one of the next generation. These and other interesting particulars cannot be further detailed here. Enough has been written to show that it might still be possible from this volume and similar manuscripts to fill up a void in the commercial and social history of Scotland.

A. H. Millar.

Art. VI.—AN IDYLL DURING THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

We are apt to imagine that the French Revolution put a stop to all business and diversion, that it absorbed everybody's thoughts and filled every mind with anxiety. In reality, life went on, except among the aristocracy, very much as before. There was eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage. At the beginning of 1792, moreover, though the King, brought back from Varennes in the previous summer, was a virtual prisoner at the Tuileries, though the emigrant nobles were busy at Coblentz, though Austria and

Prussia were meditating an invasion, there was a political lull, and most people doubtless imagined that the worst storms of the Revolution were over. Foreigners still travelled through the country, and natives recently returned to it saw no reason to fear evils to come obvious to us, but not apparent to them. At Nantes, a town then containing 70,000 inhabitants, there had settled in 1786 a retired musician, Joseph Tasset. Born at Chartres in 1732, Tasset, at 6 years of age, gave lessons on the flute; at 16 he had public performances; and he shortly afterwards went to England, where he had aristocratic pupils, such as the Duchess of Hamilton, latterly Duchess of Argyll, who was one of 'the beautiful Miss Gunnings.' He knew Sterne, and Handel applauded his invention of a flute with 18 keys. He was considered the prince of flute-players, and composed several sonatas. He figures in some musical encyclopædias as an Englishman, his name being spelt Tacet. He retired on a competency, with an English wife, who died about 1788, and an only child, Marianne, born in London, probably about 1766. The Tassets lived in the Cours St. André, one of the avenues covering the site of the old fortifications. Nantes houses were not then crowded together as they are now, and there was a back-garden in which the widower, well-meaning but reserved and rather difficult to deal with, loved to saunter in his dressing-gown, sometimes deaf to the dinner-bell, so that Marianne had to despatch her English maid to repeat the summons.

Tasset seems to have had sisters living in the town, which probably accounts for his settling there, and there were a few English residents, with whom Marianne may have been acquainted; but she had apparently little society, and her father had none of the qualities of a confidant. Although she could speak English and was considered English, French, after six years absence from England, was the language most familiar to her. She had inherited her father's taste for music, but had no extraordinary talent for it; she kept a parrot and singing birds, painted a little, and read much, her favourite authors being Rousseau and Richardson. Albeit void of pretentions to beauty, she had had several offers of marriage, but if she was still single at an age when most young women were wives and

mothers, it was because the only man she had really loved had died, and because she had never met another really in love with her. Steeped in Rousseau, she would have liked a grand passion, but failing this, she had half accepted a fellow townsman, a M. de Blancard, 23 years of age, and of a highly respectable family. But fate willed otherwise.

She had a bosom friend, Mélanie Muller, apparently of Alsatian or German extraction, who had gone from Nantes, as companion or nursery-governess, to the Chatean of Courteilles, near Verneuil, 200 miles to the north-east. The mansion had been built in 1760 by Jacques de Barbarie, Marquis de Courteilles, and it was now occupied by four generations, all women and children, a state of matters not unusual with chateaux during the Revolution. There was the widowed Marquise de Courteilles, probably 70 years of age, and her step-daughter, the Comtesse de Rochechouart, also a widow, for the Count, one of the first nobles to join the National Assembly, had died in July, 1791. He had made it a condition, on marrying his daughters, that they should remain in the nest. Accordingly there were two daughters, the Duchesse de Richelieu, wife of the grandson of the notorious *roué*, Marshal Richelieu, and the Princesse de Carency, both grass-widows, for Richelieu was virtually an *émigré*, having been sent by Louis XVI. on a secret mission to Germany, and not being destined to re-enter France till the end of the century, while Carency, son of the Duc de la Vauguyon, was perhaps with his father, the French ambassador at Madrid.* Lastly, there were the two young sons of a third and eldest daughter, Mélanie, who had died in 1790, and whose husband, the Duc de Piennes, afterwards Duc d'Aumont, having thereupon married a woman who had long been his mistress, was in disgrace. The two boys, Ernest, ten years old, who eventually joined his uncle Richelieu in Russia, and was killed in Persia in 1805, and Zosime, his junior, obviously required a tutor. Moreover, the four ladies,

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Or he may have been already a black sheep, for in the Terror he was one of the infamous men known as *moutons*, ostensible prisoners, who informed against their fellow-captives.

who had been intimate with Madame de Staël in Paris, were doubtless in need of a person of the other sex to protect them from revolutionary annoyances.

That tutor and protector, apparently recommended by Roberts, a professor of English in Paris, was Matthieu Guillaume Villenave. Born in Languedoc in 1762, Villenave was tonsured at nine, that he might have a family benefice; but resigning this at twenty-one to a younger brother, he repaired to Paris, with the idea of entering the king's life guards. Finding that two years' probation without pay was required, he obtained through the abbé Ricard—Ricard, the future translator of Plutarch, had since the father's death in 1772, interested himself in the Villenave family—a tutorship to the Comte de Pontgibaud. Like many other tutors, he retained the clerical garb, and was a sort of hybrid, not irrevocably committed to the priesthood. In 1786 he unsuccessfully competed for an Academy prize, the subject being an ode on the Duke of Brunswick's rescue of a man from drowning in an inundation of the Oder. He obtained an introduction to Marie Antoinette, and had hopes of becoming tutor to the Dauphin when the Revolution broke out. Enraptured with it, he threw off his frock and started a newspaper at Paris, and on the day of the famous Tennis Court sitting, he went about Versailles telling the deputies whom he met where to assemble. But journalism did not flourish with him, and he had to resume teaching. He accompanied the Courteilles family to their chateau. A true southerner, he was fervid and impulsive. Before leaving home—whither he never returned, though his mother was living as late as 1797—he had been in love with a novice in a convent; he had since had two other attachments, and he was now half engaged to a Mademoiselle Desroziers. He had naturally much conversation with Mélanie Muller, who had a talent for painting, and had hopes of earning a livelihood, or even fame, by her brush. It would seem that she declined his overtures, but imagined that he would be a suitable husband for Marianne Tasset. She accordingly showed him Marianne's letters and her portrait. The letters made more impression than the portrait, which did not argue

beauty. Villenave also was a disciple of Rousseau, and sighed for a romantic passion. It was not love at first sight, but love without sight. Early in January 1792, he wrote to 'Miss Tasset,' as she was styled, and within three months sixteen letters were exchanged. These, with the exception of the first, have been preserved, and were probably sold with Villenave's autographs and other manuscripts in 1856. They are now the property of M. Frédéric Masson, and were published, but without any elucidations, in a little known magazine, the *Revue Rétrospection*, in 1890. After the lapse of a hundred years these love letters have not lost their aroma, but they would fill nearly half a number of this *Review*, and to summarise them would be like crushing a butterfly or a rose. Extracts must therefore suffice. Let me premise that religion and politics are equally conspicuous by their absence. Nominally Catholics, both parties were evidently of the creed of Rousseau, and Marianne was no politician, but Villenave's total silence on passing events is surprising, considering that he had already dabbled in politics, and was destined to burn his fingers in that then dangerous game.

On the 11th January, Marianne writes to Mélanie:—

'I have received M. de Villenave's letter. I should like, and I ought, to reply, but cannot. Apologise to him for me, dear Mélanie. Tell him that imperative circumstances do not allow me at this moment to give him a reply, which I shall soon have the pleasure of writing to him, that I could not do so just now in a way satisfactory to my delicacy, that I should be afraid of misleading him and deceiving myself, that I wish to be open and straightforward with him, as I desire him to be with me, and that if it is really true that my dear Mélanie's praises have kindled in his heart sentiments of which I am too little deserving to be able to believe in them, I shall endeavour, even while seeking to destroy them, to preserve his esteem.'

She goes on to explain that she has an admirer who had lost his situation by outstaying his holiday for her sake, and that she is dependent on her father. She asks whether Villenave, if he marries, will retain his present post, whether his pupils' education is nearly completed, whether if forced to leave he can find another situation or an employment respectable and lucrative enough to spare her father the suspicion of mercenary

motives and herself the vexation of seeing her husband dependant on her father. She adds :—

'If M. de Villenave can reply satisfactorily to all these questions, if he can really succeed in persuading me of the fact of an attachment which I can scarcely comprehend, if finally I can succeed in reconciling my inclinations with my duties, I will then tell him all that my heart and circumstances may permit me to say.'

Six days later she writes again to Mélanie :—

'If you knew all that I have undergone since replying to M. de Villenave's letter, the cruel days, the sad nights, which I have passed, the fearful uncertainty in which I am placed, you would pity, oh ! you would greatly pity me. . . . Mélanie, I confess that his letter surprised me to a degree I cannot express. You read it, you are consequently better able to judge than I, especially as you know the writer. Tell me candidly, do you think he *loves* me ? So strange, so romantic an attachment, is it natural ? Do you not discern some motive which may induce him to feign what he perhaps does not feel ? For how is it that affectionate and susceptible as he seems to be, he has not rather profited by the happy chance which you offered to his view of becoming loved by an object combining with the most pleasing talents and the most natural mind, all the seductions that the graces and youth can add ? How is it natural, in short, that he has not rather tried to please an object present and calculated to charm whoever has eyes and heart, than to be enamoured of a plain woman who is 200 miles off, and whom, perhaps, he would cease to love as soon as he saw her ? '

Moreover, she remembers Mélanie having told her that Villenave had paid her attentions, and was in love with 'all your duchesses.' 'A fickle man, ready to take fire at the first object presenting itself, would not at all do for me. He would soon kill me with love and jealousy.' What most alarms her are his good looks, for how can she satisfy him ?

'How renounce the honest, estimable man to whom I am, as it were, pledged, and whom I may render unhappy ? Ah ! Mélanie, it would be much better for you to love M. de Villenave and marry him. Your children would be little darlings, I should be fond of both of you, and all four of us would be happy. . . . Pray write as soon as possible. For you must feel how essential it is for me to know what to expect respecting M. de Villenave. Do not, I entreat you, keep me in suspense. Try and sound him as much as possible. Remember that the happiness of my life is at stake.'

There is an enclosure for Villenave, in which, after speaking of her embarrassment and hesitation, she says :—

'This preamble will perhaps surprise you, but allow me to tell you that the surprise will not be greater than I felt on reading your letter. I expected, indeed, to receive it ; I even wished for it, but I was scarcely prepared for its contents. Do not imagine on that account that it offended me ; I am frank, and will confess that the avowal you make, so far from angering me, would have infinitely flattered me if I could have ventured to believe in it. But how can you expect me to believe and to persuade myself that you *love* me? Remember, sir, that you have never seen me, that you know me only by hearsay, that Mélanie's portrait of me was sketched by a hand which embellishes all it touches, and that that hand was guided by friendship. Learn, in short, that I may have some good points, but that altogether I am what is called a plain woman, that I am probably older than you, and reflect after all this whether, without running a risk of passing even in your own judgment for extravagant, I can persuade myself that I am capable of captivating a man of your merit, age, and figure. I believe you like me, but I think you form, from the praises lavished on me by a too partial friend, an idea of my mind and my slender talents which would be much reduced if I had the honour of being known to you. Disabuse yourself, therefore, sir ; do not take me for an extraordinary woman, but merely for an affectionate and extremely susceptible one, a woman whose heart does not always let her head reflect, a woman whose perhaps rather too lively imagination is ready to take fire, but never except for objects she thinks the worthiest of her esteem.'

After explaining that Blancard has seen Villenave's letters, and wishes her to see the writer before she decides between the two, she adds :—

'You perhaps imagine me rich ; now disabuse yourself of the idea. I possess something, and have expectations ; my situation is tolerable, but in no way brilliant. However, I think I have already hinted to you that I am dependent on a father who will act generously to me, but will not impoverish himself for my benefit, especially as, while allowing me to marry, I am well aware he does not wish it. Before arranging anything, therefore, you must be sure of retaining your present post or of obtaining another which would make up for its loss. . . . In testifying a desire to know you, I have no thought of urging you to come to Nantes ; I feel how ridiculous the proposal would be, yet I cannot conceal from myself that that plan, assuming it possible, is the only one which can make us acquainted, and can consequently decide my fate.'

This letter crosses one from Villenave, dated the 19th January :—

'So I am under the knife of destiny. At the moment I am writing my fate is perhaps settled, irrevocably decreed. Oh! Miss, [*sic in orig.*], you will not be mine, and I shall never see you. Fool that I was! I contrived despite all possibilities, to fancy that it would be possible to convert my heart's romance into history. . . . Oh! Miss, you escape me, I no longer hope for aught; I have read that letter, so fatal to my tranquility; it is my admiration and my torment. All is over between you and me; I bid you a perhaps eternal farewell. . . . Your heart is pre-engaged. . . . Had I gone to see you you would have said to yourself—"Behold him, he is neither handsome nor ugly, rather good-looking than not, and he is tall; there is nothing striking in his figure, but nothing displeasing. He has chestnut hair, dark eyes, good teeth; his countenance is mild and open, his manner is amiable and sensible; let us make him talk." Then I should have said to the amiable Miss, "My mind is better than my person. I know that you do not think yourself pretty, but if you love me you will ever be so in my eyes. I have not come 200 miles for your face or your fortune, but I would have come a thousand for your good and amiable qualities." Here, Miss, you would have blushed, but not so much as I should. "I come to offer you my hand and heart. I should have preferred to enrich you, I can only love you."'

He proceeds to quote four lines from Pope—

'O happy state, when souls each other draw,'

which made Marianne imagine that he knew English, an idea which he had to correct.

On the 30th January Villenave writes:—

'What was she (Mélanie) thinking of in telling you that she had made a conquest of me, and that I was in love with all the ladies of the chateau? Really, miss, this puzzles me. Was it vanity, or merely one of those sallies made without reflection, and without foreseeing what may one day have vexatious consequences? I have great respect for our ladies, I find them amiable and kind, but assuredly that is all.'

He also likes Mélanie, but she is flighty, and is devoted to painting; her talk of Marianne, together with the letters and portrait, had smitten him:—

'Do not fancy, kind and amiable Miss, that I am a frivolous, fickle, thoughtless young man. I am 29; I have loved twice in my life. For a long time I knew misfortune; I have felt the nothingness and frivolity of the world; I have gained experience, tact, yet I have preserved my morals. . . . I have numberless defects, but not one vice. . . . How flattered I feel to be able to call myself your friend. Your pretty hand has

signed this permission. Oh believe, amiable Miss, that it is too much for my deserts, but not enough for my heart. . . . How alarmed I am at the inclination which draws you to my rival.* What ! you read him my letter, Mélanie's, and even your own. Oh, dearest Marianne, I am lost if you have not the courage to veil from him the secrets of your own heart and of mine. . . . A word from your mouth and I fly to your feet, or I remain for ever fixed on the spot where destiny has prepared, matured, and decreed my misfortune.'

Marianne writes to Mélanie on the 5th February :—

'M. de Villenave's letter is charming ; it proves what I knew but too well, that he is the most amiable, the most fascinating of men, but it does not at all prove that he is the man destined for me, for it was written before mine, and does not answer any of my questions. Ah ! Mélanie, if he has received mine I am sure he has given me up. What man could stand such an ordeal ? He would have to love, to love passionately, and how could he love me ? He does not know me.'

She asks Mélanie to bring Villenave over to Nantes, and to make acquaintance with Blancard, if not an amiable, a thoroughly honest man, to whom she has told all, as she was bound to do, for he has another chance amply compensating him for her loss.

Villenave, writing on the 12th February, says :—

'I have seen everything, read everything, your letters, your postscript. I hold them, I clasp them, I read them, I re-read them, I cover them with tears and kisses ; I am victor. Yes, yes, I enjoy my triumph. . . . They are mine, all your letters to Mademoiselle Mélanie. I hold them, I keep them, she shall never have them back, not even your first ones, though in these there is nothing about me. These are my titles, my glory, thy soul, thy virtues, thy mind, my happiness, my triumph. No human power shall ever deprive me of them. . . . Beg her to leave me this precious deposit, it is mine for ever ; the thief will give it up only at the gallows. And Miss Tasset's portrait, painted by herself ! more than a month ago it was stolen, taken by force. Oh ! that also shall never be restored. . . . I also have made a sacrifice. A marriage that was offered me, a young lady, not handsome, but pleasing, amiable, but not of much education, and without talent, not rich, but much richer than I am, a respectable family, to whom I was not displeasing. Well, six weeks ago

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* As to whom he has questioned Mélanie, but she does not know him. She has also played a joke on Marianne, by sending her an Apollo Belvedere as Villenave's portrait.

I stated in the most straightforward way that I could no longer be reckoned upon. I had then but little hope of possessing Miss Tasset, but I was desiring, I was soliciting her hand; I would not leave an estimable family under any mistake. Behold, Miss, what delicacy prevented my telling you a fortnight ago, and what you should never have known had you refused me. . . . Thou wilt have to deduct much from thy friend's excessive praises, but I can say with Rousseau, "I do not know a better man than myself." Oh! Miss, kind and sweet friend, forgive me for having thou'd you: I swear that this shall not happen again without thy permission, but I shall obtain it, shall I not? . . . Receive the tender kiss of love. Remember that my fault is involuntary, that my intoxication is thine own work, and then—dare to punish me.'

On the 16th February he again writes:—

'I will not await your reply, my dear Marianne—allow me this sweet familiarity of expression—to ask you to forgive the extravagance of my last letter. . . . You will tell me "many sins are remitted you because you have loved much." Then, doubt not, I shall with difficulty resist the temptation of becoming still more culpable.'

He is impatient to see her, yet has misgivings, and suggests that the abbé Ricard should first visit Nantes and speak for him:—

'I see myself 50 years hence a good old patriarch, with Marianne and our children,* who will have learned to love each other and us. Adieu, good, amiable, sensible miss . . . open thy sweet lips to the kiss of love. These kisses which come from such a distance, are not bitter, like those which St. Preux received from Julia. Adieu, miss; adieu, Marianne; adieu, wife. How sweet to talk with thee, how painful to quit thee.'

Marianne, forgetting this time to give a date, writes:—

'You have seen my letters, you have read your own triumph and my weakness. I have only therefore to blush and be silent. But do not imagine it is with shame. Far from blushing at the feeling which draws me to you, I am proud of it, but I confess I would rather have kept you in ignorance of it till my worth could have taught it you. The confession, it seems to me, would have been sweeter for us. I should have read your happiness in your eyes; I should have said, "He is happy, and I am the cause of it." . . . Perhaps you can wait patiently. You are a man, and a philosopher to boot, but I, who am only a woman, that is to say a weak, sensitive, curious woman, *I* wait? No, I can never wait above 3 weeks from to-day at most, and I shall conclude, if you do not come at the

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* 'The gods, assenting, granted half his prayer,
The rest the winds dispersed in empty air.'—Pope's *Iliad.*

prescribed time, that you do not love me at all. . . . But alas, ought I to hurry you to start? Ought I to hasten the moment when I shall perhaps irrevocably lose you? For what if my presence lowers the veil which conceals all my imperfections from your eyes? . . . I know not why, but of late I find myself much plainer than usual. Alas, it is perhaps because I never so much deserved to be handsome. . . . Fancy, not merely am I no beauty, but I am stout, tolerably well shaped indeed, but not having what is called a slim figure; I have a white skin, dark and rather full eyes, a countenance which people call expressive, and I had the finest hair possible, but an illness 2 years ago made me lose it. It is growing again, but is still short, and so thick that it enlarges rather than adorns my head. I have besides a large nose, thick lips, in short I am much like my portrait but perhaps still plainer, and that, you know, is not handsome. . . . I cannot love by halves; the lover who has learned to please me ceases to be a man, he becomes a god who rules and governs my destiny at his will; I live and breathe only through him. Remember that I shall love you as you have never, perhaps, been loved, but that I desire the like. Remember, lastly, that I have never understood fickleness, and that yours would kill me. . . . My mind has made, I am sure, more than a hundred journeys to Courteilles. Alas, if you would hasten your promised journey a little, you would spare me much travelling and fulfil all my heart's desires. . . . I hope now to get at least one letter a week, but beware, sir, of writing me more than 3; I should refuse them, and to make me take them in you would have to bring them yourself.'

Writing to Mélanie on the 17th February, Marianne asks whether Villenave often talks of her, whether he seems happy:—

'How I long for, yet dread, the moment when I can clasp you both to my breast, bedew you with the sweet tears of sentiment, and say to myself, "Behold him who will make my happiness, behold her to whom I owe it."'

Blancard, in a parting interview, had wished her happiness, and had asked for continued friendship and correspondence:—

'Ah, Mélanie, what it costs me to afflict an honest man, and what would I not give never to have known that unfortunate young man! I have informed my father of M. de Villenave's visit and sentiments. He seems disposed to receive him well, but I hear him sigh, though I hope M. de Villenave will convert his uneasiness into happiness, without which my own would not be perfect.'

On the 23rd February, Villenave writes to the abbé Bradt to ask him to break off negotiations in another quarter, for he had a more advantageous prospect, though still very uncertain. Nevertheless he would not run after two women at once,

and would rather miss both than deceive both. It is difficult to reconcile this letter with what he had told Mélanie on the 12th February of a rupture then six weeks old. Had he three strings to his bow?

On the 24th February Marianne writes:—

'O my friend, I exist only the days when I hear from you, the rest of the week I pass in waiting and longing. I am constantly sending to the post, I ask everybody about the arrival of the mails, and I should exhaust the patience of those around me if their friendship for me did not make it inexhaustible. Yes, you love me, I believe it, I feel it, and I begin to flatter myself that your inclination, springing from affinities of soul, will resist everything, even our first interview, and that you will love me even without beauty, because you will love not my face, but my heart. If my letters fell into the hands of some prude I should doubtless be blamed, but as I have never been either a prude or a coquette, and as my feelings, I venture to say, are as pure as my heart, I do not blush to avow them to him whose happiness I hope they will ensure. . . . Ah, I begin to believe you are he whom my heart has so long sought, he who should realise all the dreams of my imagination, he whom I once thought I had found, but whom fate made me know only to deprive me of him for ever. . . . If you come, as I presume, by coach, I will send somebody to meet you. We are sorry not to be able to lodge you, but except at night you will be always with us.'

Villenave writes on the 27th February:

'I swear thou shall be mine, mine for ever. No human power can prevent a union long doubtless foreseen and determined in the inexplicable Book of Fate. Thy father will love me, because I shall make his daughter happy. . . . Thou art an angel. No, thou canst not be plain! Ah, thou shalt never be so in my eyes. . . . I loved for six years a plain woman because she had answered my first letter without coquetry and with the effusion of a heart more enamoured than my own.'

Three days later he writes again to say that though he has done with correspondence, he will bring a number of letters to satisfy her father of his character. 'I give thee the tender kiss of love.'

On the 4th March, Marianne writes:—

'Oh how my heart thrills at the idea of soon seeing you. . . . Seeing you so handsome (in his "flattered" portrait by Mélanie, enclosed in the letter of the 27th February), how is it possible not to find myself a hundred times plainer than usual? . . . I was almost as vexed to find you so good-looking as to see myself (in the glass) so plain. . . . There

is still time enough, make your reflections, spare yourself the horrors perhaps of repentance. You do not say whether you have a mother living, but I should be so glad to cherish and respect her. Alas that I have none. How her beautiful soul would rejoice at our happiness; how she would love you! But for three years she has rested in the tomb, and as long as I live she will be the object of my keenest regrets, just as while living she was that of my tenderest love. . . . The *Nouvelle Héloise* is for me the first of romances, Julia, the first of women, and St. Preux, the model of lovers. I know no hero in Richardson to compare with him. Clarissa, charming and interesting as she is, does not affect me, with her grand virtues, as much as Julia, tender Julia, even with her failings, . . . Should I not look for a room in the neighbourhood, as near us as possible? . . . Adieu, then, I leave you, but only to think of you, to look at your portrait, to read your letters, to applaud my choice, to bless her to whom I owe the happiness of again loving, in short, to busy myself only with you and with the moment when I shall enjoy the inexpressible happiness of seeing you, and hearing you ask me for the first time, "Dost thou love me?"—charming question, to which I shall eagerly reply, "How I love thee."' *

On the 8th, she writes again:—

'Your letter is charming, adorable. You write like an angel, I should say like a god, but that it is dated Courteillez. That date pains me, and you know that the gods never give pain. My imagination still depicts your arrival with Mélanie. She enters first, I rush into her arms, but while embracing her, I look for you, I discover you at last, and I rush to clasp you too in turn to my heart throbbing with pleasure. My dear friend, I am so full of this idea that frequently on hearing the bell, and seeing the door open, I involuntarily tremble and fancy it is you.'

She goes on to speak of an intimate friend who ridiculed the notion of love without sight. She hopes Villenave is fond of music, and not fond of the chase.

Villenave, unaccompanied by Mélanie, has to go first to Paris, whence he writes on the 11th March, on the eve of starting—

'Oh, my dear friend, in three days I shall be at thy feet, on thy neck, at thy side. . . . I arrive pale, cramped, my hair untrimmed, dirty, crumpled, looking like a shop Adonis. I shall however, if I can, spare my dear Mélanie the imposing view of my head buried in a large dirty cotton cap. Ah, if I had more vanity than love, I should not see Marianne till the day after my arrival, but even if I had just emerged from a bog I

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* Here she for once uses the second person singular.

do not know whether I should be courageous enough to delay by one hour that first so ardently desired interview.'

Writing again from Mans, on Friday, the 16th, he says :—

'Dining takes a long time, and we sleep at an inn every other night, so that though we set off this morning at 3, we have done only 40 miles. We shall reach Nantes on Sundayevening, perhaps at 6, perhaps at 10 . . . Twenty-four hours must still elapse before I see my beloved. Oh, how slowly the time passes. My impatience, my love, prevents me from sleeping.'

This is Villenave's last letter. Can we not fancy that Sunday evening at Nantes—how Marianne sent her maid an hour before the time to meet the coach and conduct Villenave to his lodging, how he goes thither to make himself presentable, how Marianne has taken unusual pains with her toilette, how she questions the maid as to how he looked, and what he said, how she listens impatiently for the bell, how it rings at last, and then——. There is not a line from Villenave to any outsider to give us his impressions of the interview. We have only Marianne's mention of it, and this does not enter into details, but takes everything for granted. She writes to Mélanie on the following Saturday :—

'To depict my felicity would be to depict my gratitude, but I know of no colours, no pencils, which can express what I feel, no, not even yours. A happiness like mine is felt, it is not expressed. . . . I write you this letter just before going to bed, for there is no writing when my dear Villenave is here, I can then only look at him, listen to him, talk with him, occupy myself with him.'

A week later she writes to a Madame de Guinguené at Rennes, pressing her to come over to the wedding :—

'Remember that one generally marries but once in a lifetime, and that there is only one M. de Villenave in the world. He has travelled a hundred leagues for me, I feel that I would go a thousand for him. . . . One of the few men met with only in romances or in women's imaginations. . . . We are having delicious days together. No, never was there a mind more amiable, more tender, more sensitive, more loving, more loved, more worthy of being so.'

On the 7th April she writes to Mélanie :—

'Never will be effaced from my recollection the moment when we saw and embraced each other for the first time. My heart could scarcely con-

tain its feelings. I was no longer on earth, I was in heaven. I am still there, and can say that I know and taste happiness in all its purity.'

Villenave is seemingly capable of jealousy, for she now writes to Blancard asking him to drop the correspondence, and he, with good wishes, regretfully consents. On the 22nd April she tells Mélanie that her father and her lover had had a few quarrels. The father evidently did not think a precarious tutorship a satisfactory position, and he wished Villenave to become a barrister at Nantes, but Villenave feels that it would be ungrateful to the Courteilles ladies abruptly to throw up his post. He is therefore to return to it, and Marianne is to join him in two months. The wedding has been delayed by Villenave having to send for documents.

'We marry, then, on Thursday or Saturday, at 8 p.m. I need not beg you to address supplications to heaven for your friend's happiness. . . . I have but one thing to ask of heaven, the continuance of the love of him whom I shall not cease to adore except on ceasing to live, but who would soon make me cease to live by ceasing to love me. . . . I send you a million kisses, as much for my dear Navau (a pet name she had given Villenave) as for myself.'

Here ends a correspondence in which sensibility and common sense, passion and archness, gentleness and flightiness, are curiously blended. It is the more interesting because it is characteristic of the age. The letters of Madame Roland and of Bernardin de St. Vierre are very much in the same key, and also betray Rousseau's influence. Madame Roland's old schoolfellow, Sophie Canet, played, moreover, the very same part in the Roland as Mélanie in the Villenave match.

On May eve, 1792, heedless or unconscious of gathering political troubles, Miss Tasset became Madame de Villenave, and the bridegroom, who, as we have seen, dabbled in rhyme, wrote sixteen verses, which were appended to the letters. Whether, after all, he returned to Courteilles is uncertain, but if so, he soon left and settled at Nantes, where an illustrious refugee became his friend, and perhaps his lodger. Bailly, the astronomer and ex-Mayor of Paris, so suddenly raised to eminence, so suddenly fallen from it, went thither about July 1792, in the hope that the influence of a friend, Gelée de

Premon, would ensure him protection, but the poor old man's troubles were soon renewed. 6000f. was claimed from him as arrears of taxes for the house he had occupied as Mayor, and to meet this claim he had to part with his library. His house at Chaillot, just outside Paris, had also to be sold. Moreover, the Girondins, then in power, sent orders to the Nantes authorities to place him under surveillance, and once a week Bailly had to go and report himself to the public prosecutor, Garreau (a friend of Marianne's), who, however, we may be sure, made the ceremony as little irksome as possible. Roland, best described as Madame Roland's husband, next wrote a curt letter to tell him that the apartments at the Louvre, occupied for more than a century by his family, as curators of the picture galleries, must be vacated, and a bailiff was even sent to clear out the furniture. No wonder if with all these worries Bailly could not collect his thoughts for serious studies. He spent most of his time in novel-reading, and would pleasantly say, 'My day has been well employed, for since getting up this morning I have read two or three volumes of the latest novel from the circulating library, and I can give a summary of it to anybody who likes to hear it.' This pastime, however, was varied by conversation with Villenave and his friend Pariset, then twenty-two years of age, afterwards a distinguished surgeon, on Homer, Aristotle, Plato, French classics, astronomy, and scientific progress. Bailly was pressed by Casans, who, by the capture of the island of Grenada, had become a British subject, to accompany him to England or America, and Madame Bailly, who was with him, was anxious that he should do so, but Bailly thought it cowardly, after the part he had played, to flee the country. After the siege of Nantes, however, by the Vendeans, the revolutionary temper became too heated to allow of his remaining there, and he accepted an invitation (unhappily countermanded too late) to go and live with Laplace, his fellow astronomer, at Melun. Villenave, whom Bailly had got to style 'my son,' was going with his wife to Rennes, on a visit doubtless to Madame de Guinguené, and on the 6th of July, 1793, Bailly started with them. Of his rough reception by the Melun mob, his despatch as a

prisoner to Paris, his manly evidence at Marie Antoinette's trial, his own condemnation, the hours of waiting in the rain and cold because the mob insisted on the guillotine being removed from the Champ de Mars to a neighbouring ditch—of this I need not speak. It is pleasing to think that Bailly passed a year of comparative tranquility in the society, perhaps under the roof of the Villenaves, so that when on the 26th February, 1844, Arago at the Paris Academy of Sciences delivered a eulogium on Bailly, he could point to Villenave and Pariset, there present, and thank them in the name of science and humanity for ensuring some moments of peaceful happiness to an old man, heart-broken at public ingratitude.

Oh that Villenave's entire conduct during the Revolution had been on the same plane! He became president of the revolutionary clubs, and drew up an address complimenting the Convention on the execution of Louis XVI. On Nantes being besieged by the Vendeans, he argued that 'law should slumber in such critical circumstances,' and that though prisoners should have a fair trial the penalty should be promptly enforced. He was shortly afterwards appointed assistant public prosecutor. According to his own statement he brought to the block the first noble, the first priest, and the first *bourgeois* in Nantes, and in three months conducted a hundred prosecutions. It is true that he afterwards retracted this assertion as having been made to save his life, and maintained that during his 55 official sittings there were but 22 condemnations, with 109 acquittals. Whichever version is true,* he was not 'thorough' enough for the infamous Carrier, whose abominations at Nantes eclipsed even the atrocities of Paris. With revolutionary inconsistency Marianne was arrested as a foreigner, though her father was left unmolested, but she was soon released. Not so Villenave, who with 130 other inhabitants was sent by Carrier, on the 9th of November, 1793, to Paris, as Girondin conspirators. They were driven thither like a flock of sheep, sometimes tied together with a rope to prevent escape, frequently crowded at night into small

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* He pleaded in excuse that few men had passed through the Revolution blameless.

bare chapels, exposed to all sorts of privations. Some succumbed on the way. The survivors, on reaching Paris, were treated with comparative humanity, but for six weeks Marianne's letters were withheld from Villenave, as the chief conspirator, though the other prisoners received theirs.* Tasset went up to Paris to plead for his son-in-law, and he published Villenave's account of the prisoners' journey, which speedily ran through several editions. Happily, the trial was postponed till after Robespierre's fall, and the prisoners, after a seven days trial, were acquitted, in September, 1794, by the strange verdict of 'Guilty of conspiring against the unity of the Republic, but not guilty of counter-revolutionary intentions.' Villenave stayed in Paris to defend several of Carrier's accomplices, who with two exceptions were acquitted, Carrier, however, paying the full penalty of his crimes.

Returning to Nantes, Villenave practised as a barrister. He had aristocratic clients, but as he left them to pay what they chose, his receipts were scarcely a thousand crowns (£200) a year. When therefore the bar was reorganized he did not care to qualify, but contented himself with a professorship. From 1797 to 1800 he also edited a newspaper. Tasset, impoverished by the Revolution, died in 1801, and two years later Villenave, selling his library, removed to Paris, to a fifth floor in the house of the poetaster Delille. He supported himself by newspaper articles, compilations, and numerous contributions to the *Biographie Universelle.* He formed a library of 25,000 volumes, and his house was the resort of literary, political, and ecclesiastical celebrities, for the Revolution had made him, like many other free-thinkers, a good Catholic. A political Vicar of Bray, he was by turns royalist, Girondin, imperialist, legitimist, and Orleanist, but this was from temperament rather than interest, for we hear of no patronage from these successive governments. Let us hope he was more constant to his wife, who, as I find by her tombstone at Montparnasse, died in 1832. Villenave, who published verses

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* His old patronesses, Madame de Rochechouart and Madame de Richelieu, were also prisoners in Paris in the spring of 1794.

as late as 1844, lived till 1846. He left two children, Mélanie, named after Mdlle. Muller, who was born in 1796, and died in 1871, and Theodore, who was born in 1798, and died in 1867. Both were authors, and in one of her books, Mélanie, Madame Valdor, pays a warm tribute to her mother. Marianne, one is inclined to think, was more than equal to her husband, who in his prison notes describes her as 'equally superior in mind and in heart.' Her life, beginning in London and ending in Paris, was a singularly chequered one. Had she written a complete autobiography, though it might not have equalled in interest the four months' glimpse given by her letters, it would not have fallen into such speedy oblivion as the multifarious productions of her husband and her children.

J. G. ALGER.

ART. VII.—THE ICE-AGE AND POST-GLACIAL FLOOD.

(1) *The Mammoth and the Flood.* By Sir H. HOWORTH. London. 1887.

(2) *The Glacial Nightmare and the Flood.* By Sir H. HOWORTH. 2 vols. London. 1893.

THE relation of a great deluge to geological science, has for a long time engaged the attention of students of geology. More than half a century ago, writers such as Granville Penn,* Fairholme, and Dean Cockburn, maintained that all the geological formations were formed either at, or shortly before, Noah's Flood, and thus brought the event, and the Bible narrative of it, into contempt. Real geologists, however, saw no impossibility in the Biblical deluge. Dean Buckland wrote an elaborate work,† to prove that geological evidences of the Deluge were in existence; Hitchcock also maintained its possibility; and

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* *Comparative Estimate of the Mineral and Mosaic Geologies*, 1825.

† *Reliquiæ Diluvianæ*, 1823.

Hugh Miller in his greatest work, devoted two lectures to s
ing how Noah's Flood—from a geological point of view—
have taken place.* In our own day, Sir J. W. Dawson
shown that the Deluge is a geological fact;† and the Du
Argyll in a recent lecture, delivered in Glasgow, sets fort
same opinion, and brings forward much geological eviden
support his views.‡ But by none of these eminent geologist
the question been discussed at such length, or with such a
plete knowledge of the scientific aspect of the case, as b
Henry Howorth, in the two valuable books to which we pr
to call attention.

Siberia is probably of all countries on the face of the e
the land which is pre-eminently connected with melanc
associations. If we try to realize its character, there rises b
us a picture of gloomy forests, stretching away in endless
tudes for thousands of miles. Broad rivers, on the clear bo
of which the trees of the woods are mirrored, flow with slug
current, through the endless forests. Barren wastes begin w
the woodlands end, and become more and more desolate as
Arctic Ocean is approached; and over them, in winter, the v
howls with awful fury, driving the snow before it in clouds,
wrapping everything in a winding sheet. Little wooden to
rise at long intervals, containing only a small population. Me
choly gangs of exiles, guarded by brutal soldiers, and desti
either for the silver mines or for Saghalien, tramp through
snow of these solitudes, their fetters clanking as they ma
along. The bear is the terror of the forest; the reindeer brov
on the moss-clad wastes; while packs of wolves sweep through
forests after nightfall, and make them resound with their dis
howlings.

But Siberia is not all a wilderness. Some portions of it are ti
magnificent. Its mineral wealth in gold, silver, platinum, ir
and coal, is amazing. The rivers swarm with fish; and the tr
in fur and fossil ivory is wonderfully remunerative. So gr

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* *Testimony of the Rocks. Lectures VII., VIII.*

† *Story of the Earth and Man*, p. 290.

‡ *Geology and the Deluge*, 1885.

indeed is the wealth of Siberia, that it was declared by M. De Lesseps to be the richest country in the world. Roads have been improved. Steamers traverse the great rivers; and when the railway across the whole country from Ekaterinburgh to Vladivostock is completed—which will be in ten years time—Siberia will be open to European tourists.

Three hundred years ago, quantities of huge bones began to be discovered in Europe, and as time went on these discoveries increased, until by the end of the seventeenth century these remains had been found in Germany, Poland, France, Spain and Great Britain. At first these bones were thought to be relics of giants or of dragons, but it was at length ascertained that most of them belonged to a species of huge elephant, to which the scientific name of *Elephas Primigenius* was given.* It was also discovered that Siberia was literally full of the bones of these animals, and that the name by which they were known in that country was *Mammoth.* The Mammoth was a huge elephant, covered with thick red hair, having a long mane which reached from its neck to its tail. Its tusks were almost semi-circular, and it was more bulky than either the present Indian or African elephant. It wandered over the whole of the Northern Hemisphere, but its headquarters were in Siberia. It became extinct ages ago, and it is Sir H. Howorth's special point, in the first of the two books named above, to show that the Mammoth and many animals associated with it, were swept away by a great flood, which was probably Noah's Deluge.

His conclusions on this point are stated as follows :—

'In making an appeal to my readers, I would ask them to ignore metaphysics and its pernicious *à priori* theories, and to accompany me to the facts. These facts, I claim, prove several conclusions. They prove, in the *first* place, that a very great cataclysm or catastrophe occurred at the close of the Mammoth period, by which that animal, with its companions, were overwhelmed over a very large part of the earth's surface. *Secondly*, that this catastrophe involved a widespread flood of water, which not only killed the animals, but also buried them under continuous beds of loam or gravel. *Thirdly*, that the same catastrophe was accompanied by a very great and sudden change of climate in Siberia, by which the animals which

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By Blumenbach.

had previously lived in fairly temperate conditions were frozen in flesh under the ground and have remained frozen ever since. *Fou* that this catastrophe took place when man was already occupyin earth, and constitutes the gap which is almost universally admitt exist between so-called palæolithic and neolithic man. *Fifthly*, tha catastrophe is in all probability the same one pointed out in the trad of so many races as the primœval flood, from which their legendary hi begins. *Sixthly*, that while this flood was exceedingly widespread, siderable areas escaped, and from these insular areas, man, animals plants, spread out again, and occupied those districts which had desolated."*

In proof of these positions, Sir. H. Howorth first desc the manner in which the remains of the Mammoth occu Siberia. The three zones into which this country is divid proceeding from the south to the north—are as follows:—F the mountain region of the Altai, which divides Siberia f Mongolia. Secondly, the vast belt of forest, which stret across the whole of Siberia from the Oural mountain Kamschatka. Thirdly, the great barren plains or *Tund* which extend from the northern limits of the forest to Arctic Ocean, desolate wastes of sand and gravel, without vegetation, save mosses and lichens. Now, while the remain the Mammoth are found in all these zones, it is a remark fact that as we approach the Arctic Ocean these relics increas abundance, and that the whole of the desolate regions near Polar Sea, are simply filled with tusks, bones, and teeth of h elephants in such quantities as to defy all calculation. In f for thousands of miles along the shores of the Arctic Oc from the Kara Sea to Behring's Straits, there are regions of extent where the soil is almost entirely composed of the rem of Mammoths, either scattered over the ground, or buried in frozen earth. Some catastrophe must have killed these anim in these regions, by thousands. More than this, many of bodies of these huge animals are found buried in the sand a gravel, *standing upright*, and when discovered, their flesh, sk hair, and even eyes, are in a perfect state of preservation. A further, in the present icy climate of Siberia, these Mammo

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* *The Mammoth and the Flood*, pp. xvii., xviii.

could not live. They must therefore have been suddenly destroyed by a deluge. Then the climate rapidly changing, their carcases were preserved by being fast frozen. Equally remarkable is the fact, that the New Siberian islands in the Arctic Ocean, north of Siberia, which are barren wildernesses, are veritable 'islands of bones.' In these desolate islands, the soil is packed with elephants' tusks, teeth, and bones; whilst trunks of trees washed from a great distance are heaped up in countless numbers and in chaotic confusion, on the slopes of the hills several hundred feet above the sea. Here again, it is plain that only a great flood of rushing water could have brought about this result. Sir H. Howorth is therefore justified in his conclusion, that the Mammoths and the animals associated with it were overwhelmed in Siberia by a vast and tumultuous deluge.

Continuing his argument, our author next proceeds to examine the remains of the Mammoth in other countries, and shows that in Europe also, the Mammoth and other Pleistocene mammalia were similarly destroyed. He gives lists of Mammoth skeletons, and of those of the woolly rhinoceros, etc., found in Europe, and clearly shows that the finding of perfect skeletons in unfrozen ground is equivalent to the discovery of complete carcases of Mammoths in the frozen soil of Siberia. The Dogger Bank, a shoal in the German Ocean midway between England and Holland, is covered with masses of bones, teeth, and tusks of elephants, rhinoceroses, and elks, which are constantly being brought up by the fishing boats. In olden times this bank must have been an eminence where these animals were collected in enormous numbers, and on which they were drowned by the waters of a flood. Such vast accumulations of bones as are found confusedly mixed together in many parts of Europe, show that the animals must have been destroyed there also in enormous herds, and that their bodies were piled up by the action of a flood.

The bone-caves in Europe are next examined by Sir H. Howorth, and he argues that the deposits they contain, and the animal remains with which they are filled, were also introduced by a great flood, at the close of the Pleistocene period. This conclusion will doubtless be objected to, and it will be maintained that the different deposits which these caves contain show that

they were formed by tranquil water, and that the beds of stal mite, by which the deposits are often traversed, must have be formed slowly. Thus, in the cave of La Naulette in Belgium, which a human jaw was found in 1864, there were no less th twelve distinct beds of stalagmite. Nevertheless, in the caves Sicily and Malta, masses of bones are found, filling the caver in extraordinary confusion. Man (*i.e.*, Palæolithic Man) liv when the bone-caves were filled, for his bones and weapons ha been found in many of them, so that the flood which drown the great mammalia, must have destroyed Man also. T Palæolithic remains are quite distinct from the Neolithic, a there is a great gap between these two ages of Primitive Ma history; hence we conclude that Palæolithic Man, who was co temporary in Europe with the Mammoth, the woolly rhinocer and the sabre-toothed tiger, was destroyed along with the anima among the bones of which his remains are found, by a wid spread and overwhelming flood.

Sir H. Howorth next takes his readers to the New World, a examines the surface geology of North America. Here also t Mammoth's remains are found, especially in Alaska; but t animal which at that time especially characterized America, w the Mastodon. The evidence here also is strongly in favour of great flood, or of a flood period. Gravels are distributed in t most tumultous manner, and whole skeletons of large and sma animals are mingled together in wild confusion; whilst Ma seems also to have been present, since his bones and weapons a said to occur in the gravels, although there seems to be son doubt as to their precise age. In South America similar eviden exists. The Pampas, like the Siberian *Tundras*, are a va graveyard full of the remains of monstrous animals, such as t megatherium, megalonyx, and mylodon, all of which (with t remains of many smaller animals) are buried in the mud of t Pampas in extraordinary numbers. No mere pestilence, drough or slow change of climate, can have killed all these animals, an then buried them mingled together in the vast masses and ine tricable confusion in which they are found. The only agents t which the remarkable phenomena can be assigned are floods o an extraordinary extent and power.

The traces of a great flood in Australia, and in New Zealand are next passed under review by Sir H. Howorth. In the former of these two countries it is affirmed that the great marsupials—compared with which the present Australian marsupials are mere dwarfs—were destroyed by a deluge, and that the great bird moa, in New Zealand, was also swept away by a similar agency.

The last chapter of *The Mammoth and the Flood* gives a summary of the traditions of a deluge found amongst ancient nations and modern savages, and forms an appropriate supplement to the facts of palæontology, brought forward to prove the occurrence of a great flood at the close of the Pleistocene period.

Such is a brief summary of this striking book. In weighing its evidence it must be remembered that there are two lines of proof for the occurrence of this great Post-Glacial flood. The first is paiæontological, the second is more strictly geological. The first, which is dealt with in *The Mammoth and the Flood*, relates to the destruction of the animals; the second, which deals with the formation and distribution of beds of sand and gravel, is discussed in the latter of the two works, *The Glacial Nightmare*.

With reference to Siberia, Sir H. Howorth proves his case conclusively. A great flood alone accounts for the vast deposits of bones in the north of Siberia, and for the presence of perfect carcases of Mammoths in the frozen soil of that region. Northern Siberia is a vast plain of sand and gravel, which has clearly been under water at a recent period, and its subsoil is full of buried trunks of trees, which must have been washed down into their present position. The centre of Asia is now occupied by sandy deserts, extending from the Caspian to Manchuria, and from Persia to Siberia. Probably, not long ago, most of these deserts formed the beds of great inland seas, and the sudden drainage of these Asiatic Mediterraneans may have caused the flood which overwhelmed the Mammoth in Siberia, and it may be the deluge of Noah. It must be remembered also, that as vast masses of drifted trunks of trees are heaped up on the hills of the New Siberian islands to a height of 300 feet above the sea, it follows, that if a flood of this depth prevailed at the time, it would submerge all Northern Siberia; Tobolsk, on the Irtisch, 500 miles from the ocean, being only 115 feet above the sea, and

Irkutsk, 1500 miles from the coast, but 270 feet. Thus, a flood 300 feet deep would cover all Northern Siberia. As to Northern Europe and America, the difficulty lies in distinguishing between local floods, and one great deluge. Geologists are now pretty well agreed that at the close of the Pleistocene Period great floods occurred, owing to the melting of the ice-sheets, which had accumulated during the Glacial epoch, but the difficulty lies in correlating these floods into one catastrophe. Nevertheless, the destruction of the great Pleistocene mammalia in Europe and North and South America is an extraordinary fact, and the evidence points strongly towards some unusual cataclysm. We find caves packed full of the bones of these animals, all heaped together, showing that these creatures must have crowded into the caverns for safety, or that their bodies were washed in by the flood. Sir H. Howorth well argues from these facts as follows :—

'The occurrences of immense caches, in which the remains of many species of wild animals are incongruously mixed together pell-mell, often on high ground, seems unaccountable, save on the theory that they were driven to take shelter together on some point of vantage, in view of an advancing flood of water, a position which is paralleled by the great floods which occur occasionally in the tropics, where we find the tiger and its victims all collecting together on some dry place, and reduced to a common condition of timidity and helplessness by a flood which has overwhelmed the flat country. As Horace says, referring to Deucalion's deluge—

"Omne cum Proteus pecus egit altos
Visere montes."

In the present case all were overtaken by the water, tossed and tumbled together in a common destruction, and then covered thickly with a mantle of clay or gravel,—a mantle, be it remembered, spread over immense areas, without a break external or internal, and in which we can find no traces of local disturbance, such as would be caused by any process of subsequent burying, and showing that bones and covering were laid down together.'*

This appears to be incontrovertible, and, notwithstanding its difficulties, we do not see how the main conclusion can be overthrown.

We will now notice the author's more recently published work,

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* *The Mammoth and the Flood*, p. 186.

The Glacial Nightmare. This is truly a magnificent work, consisting of two large volumes of 920 pages, and is at once a mine of geological facts, and a monument of persevering labour. In order, however, to make our remarks fully intelligible, it is necessary first to describe the Glacial Period, to which the book so elaborately refers.

By the 'Glacial Period' is understood an era during which the greater portion of the northern hemisphere was buried deep in ice and snow, at the time of, or shortly before, the appearance of Man in the world. At this time all Northern Europe was covered by an immense sheet of ice thousands of feet thick, which stretched from Ireland on the west to the Oural mountains on the east, and from the north of Lapland in the north to Central Germany and the Carpathians on the south. North America also was buried beneath a similar sheet, which extended to the 40th degree of north latitude, and reached from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains. In addition to this, the Ice-Age partially existed in the warmer regions of the globe. The Atlas mountains show marks of ancient glaciers. It is on the moraine of an old glacier that the cedars of Lebanon grow: the southern flanks of the Himalayas exhibit the traces of enormcus glaciers which have now passed away, and even in India there are signs that the great Ice-Age made its presence felt there. In South America also the ice spread over vast areas of the Pampas and in Brazil, while some geologists maintain that glaciers even existed in the valley of the Amazon. Kaffraria shows signs of glacial action; in New Zealand at this time, the ice flowing from the mountains extended far over the land; and Australia also had its ice-covering in many places. Thus with the exception of the equatorial regions, ice prevailed over most of the world. The proofs of the occurrence of this great ice-age may be summed up as follows: *First*, the presence of a deposit known as 'boulder clay,' containing scratched stones, and formed by the grinding down of land surfaces by glaciers. *Secondly*, the smoothing of rock surfaces by glaciers, in regions where no glaciers are now found. *Thirdly*, the dispersion of huge boulders of rock over tracts of country where no such rocks at present exist. Fourthly, the presence of old glacier moraines in districts now destitute of

glaciers. Such was the 'Glacial Period,' and such is the ev dence brought forward to prove its existence.

The first subject which Sir Howorth discusses in the volumes, *The Glacial Nightmare*, is the distribution of errat boulders. Over the whole of Scotland, Scandinavia, Norther Germany, Finland, and the North of Russia, huge boulders o rock are thickly scattered, and must have come from mountair often hundreds of miles away from the places in which they ar now found. The same thing is observed in North Americ where the surface of the land is frequently covered for hundred of miles, with great rocks, which have evidently been transporte over enormous distances. In olden times strange stories wer told of these boulders by the rude peasants of Germany an Scandinavia. In Sweden, where these rocks lie in countles thousands, the country folk in the long winter nights tell that i former times the giants, enraged by the ringing of the churcl bells, flung them at the churches, and that the vengeful Troll hold their infernal rites beneath them, drinking and dancing ir their black shadows, or swarming forth to tempt the benighted wanderers, with a horn filled with liquid fire.

In the early part of the century, geologists held that these boulders were carried from their parent mountains, and left in their present positions, by the agency of floods, which swept over Northern Europe with irresistible fury. This view, however, was almost abandoned when the researches of Venetz, Charpentier, and Agassiz, were given to the world, and geologists adopted the theory, that fleets of ice-bergs had floated over Northern Europe, when it lay submerged beneath an icy sea, and that when these ice-bergs melted the boulders they carried fell to the bottom of the ocean, which being slowly raised to its present position, and the waters retiring, the boulders were left high and dry. This theory prevailed for some time, and is held by many geologists now, but another hypothesis has in a great measure taken its place. According to this latest view, the boulders were carried to their present positions by enormous glaciers, and when these rivers of ice melted, the boulders were deposited on the surface of the land beneath. This theory has been developed in such an extraordinary manner, that its sup-

porters now maintain, that in the Glacial Period, most of the northern and southern portions of the globe were covered with gigantic Polar ice-caps, thousands of square miles in extent, and thousands of feet thick. These enormous oceans of ice completely buried Great Britain, Scandinavia, and the northern parts of Germany and Russia, and filled up the beds of the German Ocean and the Baltic. Most of North America was also overwhelmed by ice-sheets, which submerged the lowlands, and many of the mountain ranges, as far south as the 40th parallel of north latitude. Contemporaneously, we are told, Patagonia, South Africa, and New Zealand, were overflowed by glaciers and ice-sheets, as also were Australia and even India. Such are the views of those, who, in their zeal to expound glacial phenomena *in its greatest measure,* may well be termed 'Glacialists.'

Against these extreme views, Sir H. Howorth strongly protests. He admits extended glacier action in the Pleistocene period, and so in a minor sense he may be termed a 'Glacialist,' but he denies the existence of these enormous moving ice-sheets, and Polar ice-caps. His position may best be understood by the following quotations, in which he picturesquely describes his theory of the Glacial Period, and the way in which he differs from many modern geologists. He says :—

'I admit completely that the position maintained by Charpentier in his work on glaciers is unassailable, *first,* because it makes no appeal to any occult and hidden forces underlying the movements of ice, but proves the existence of greater glaciers formerly by comparing and equating the ruins they have left with the ruins made by existing glaciers. *Secondly,* because it is consistent with all the geological facts that we can summon to test it by. On the other hand, I not only disbelieve in, but I utterly deny, the possibility of ice having moved over hundreds of miles of level country, such as we see in Poland and Russia, and the prairies of North America, and distributed the drift as we find it there. I further deny its capacity to mount long slopes, or to traverse uneven ground, except when under the impulse of gravity. I similarly deny to it the excavating and denuding power which has been attributed to it by those who claim it as the excavator of lakes and valleys, and I altogether question the legitimacy of arguments based upon a supposed physical capacity which cannot be tested by experiment, and which is entirely based upon hypothesis. This means that I utterly question the prime postulate of the Glacial theory itself.'*

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* *The Glacial Nightmare,* pp. xiv., xv.

Further, in speaking of the connection of the great Pos Glacial Flood with the Pleistocene Era, Sir H. Howorth says :-

'The Pleistocene Flood, though far from being universal, was certain one of the most wide-spread catastrophes which the world has seen. forms a great dividing line in the superficial deposits as was maintain long ago, and as such, it is a very useful landmark which ought to appe in our nomenclature, and I do not know of any better terms than ant diluvian and post-diluvian to mark the two great divisions of the pos Pliocene beds.

'Ante-diluvian times, so far as we can see, were marked in the ten perate latitudes of both hemispheres by accumulations of ice in the sha of large glaciers on the high lands (then probably much higher) of Weste Europe, of North America, of Australia, New Zealand, and perhaps Sout Africa. Alongside of these glaciers, and in contact with them in all the latitudes, were wide champaign and wooded districts in which the mam moth and the woolly rhinoceros were the most prominent animals in Nort Asia and Europe, the mammoth and the mastodon in North America, th mastodon and the great sloth in South America, the various species gigantic kangaroos and wombats in Australia, the great wingless birds i New Zealand. They lived and thrived in the near neighbourhood of th ante-diluvian glaciers, just as the apteryx now thrives in the luxuriar forests near the great glaciers in New Zealand, and just as the tiger an rhododendron thrive close to the Himalayan glaciers.

'Meanwhile, in Northern Asia and Western Europe, and in North an South America certainly, and probably also in Australia, ante-diluvia man lived alongside of and hunted the ante-diluvian animals, and if w are to clear up his pedigree, we must find the true interpretation of thes ante-diluvian beds.

'Presently came a tremendous catastrophe, the cause of which, as I hav tried to show in the *Geological Magazine*, was the rapid and perhaps sudde upheaval of some of the largest mountain chains in the world, accompanie probably by great subsidences of land elsewhere. The breaking up o the earth's crust at this time, of which the evidence seems to be over whelming, necessarily caused great waves of translation to traverse wid continental areas, as Scott Russell, Hopkins, Whewell, and Murchiso argued they would, and these waves of translation as necessarily drowne the great beasts and their companions, including palæolithic man, an covered them with continuous mantles of loam, clay, gravel and sand, a we find them drowned and covered. They also necessarily took up the great blocks which the glaciers had fashioned, and transported them to a certain distance and distributed them and the drift associated with them, as we find them distributed.' *

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* *The Glacial Nightmare*, pp. xix., xx.

Such is Sir H. Howorth's position, and we will now discuss some of the evidence brought forward in support of it, and against the views of those from whom he differs. We will begin by asking—'What was the cause of the Glacial Period; and to what changes, astronomical, physical, or geological, are we to ascribe its origin?'

In olden times it was held that the Glacial Period was caused by the gradual cooling of the earth, which from having once been in a state of incandescence, slowly cooled, until at the Glacial Period the cooling had become so great as to cause the Great Ice Age. But this is plainly a totally inadequate cause, for had it really caused the Glacial Period, then, we ought to find all the early periods in geology hotter than the later. This, however, is not the case. There is no proof that the climate in Palæozoic times was hotter than it was in the Mesozoic ages which succeeded, and there is no proof whatever that in the Mesozoic epoch the climate was warmer than it was in the Kainozoic era, which followed it. In fact, the study of the forms of plants and animals which palæontology reveals to us, tends to show that in the late ages of the earth's history (*i.e.* in Tertiary times) the climate was, if anything, *hotter* than it was in the earlier ages (*i.e.* in the Secondary and Primary eras). Besides, had the slow cooling of the earth alone caused the Glacial Period, then it must follow that the Glacial Period instead of having passed away, *ought to have gone on increasing in severity*, and ought to have been existing now! We may therefore dismiss altogether this cause (*i.e.* the cooling of the earth) as being quite inadequate to have produced the Glacial Period.

Next let us examine those theories which state that the Glacial Period was caused by changes in the earth's orbital position with reference to the sun: an idea which is constantly brought forward.

If this astronomical theory were correct, two conclusions would follow. First, that the whole of the circumpolar area was covered deep with an immense ice-cap, which descended on all sides to the temperate regions: and, secondly, that we ought to find evidences of many former Glacial Periods in the earth's history, for as the cause would regularly return, the Glacial Period

which we are now discussing would merely be the last of succession of Ice-Ages. Now, in discussing this aspect of th question, we must first ask what is the extent of the earth surface in the northern hemisphere which was 'glaciated' at th Glacial Period, and did the Glacial Period extend over the whol of the circumpolar area in the Northern Hemisphere?

It is a surprising fact that in answer to this question, we fin that traces of glacial action seem to be entirely absent from one hal of the circumpolar regions in the Northern Hemisphere, which i quite inconsistent with the existence of a vast ice-cap at th North Pole spreading southwards in every direction. From th Mackenzie River, in North America, eastwards, we find man traces of glacial action, and in the northern part of the Unite States the proofs of the presence of vast glaciers are numberles England (north of the Thames), Scotland, and Ireland are fu of the marks of glaciers, and so is the whole of the Scandinavia peninsula; in fact from the Mackenzie River eastwards, as fa as the White Sea, glaciers overwhelmed the land, and sprea desolation on every side. But from the White Sea eastwards a is changed. There are no evidences of glacial markings i Siberia, and its hills and barren *Tundras* show no signs of havin been buried beneath ice-sheets during the Glacial Period, an bear on their surfaces no erratic boulders. Sir Roderic Murchison found no traces of ancient glaciation on the Ural and no signs of ancient glaciers have as yet been detected on th Altai mountains. There are many islands in the Arctic Ocea to the north of Siberia, in many of which (such as the Ne Siberian islands, and Wrangell Land) the bones and tusks c Mammoths occur in vast quantities, but these islands are ofte rugged, and show no signs of ice-sheets having ever passed ove them, while on many places on the north-eastern shore of Siberi numberless pinnacles and towers of rock forbid us to believe tha any great sheet of ice descending from the North Pole eve passed over them. Alaska also does not seem to have been ove whelmed by ice at the Glacial Period, although it has had man local glaciers. It appears therefore that glacial indications ar absent from one half of the circumpolar area of the North Pole and this at once negatives the idea that at the Glacial Period th

North Pole was buried deep beneath a vast ice-cap, which pressed downwards towards the south in all directions.

Further, if regularly recurring astronomical causes occasioned the Glacial Period, we ought to find traces of many such Ice Ages preserved in the history of the past geological eras. Extreme Glacialists have felt the force of this difficulty, and have ransacked the geological formations with the utmost diligence and patience to find indications of former Glacial Periods. As a result of their search evidence is produced of cold periods in all the great divisions of the geological formations, and in every subdivision also. These evidences are declared to consist of conglomerates, brecchias, and scratched stones, and this evidence is declared to be further strengthened by the fact that in many of the beds referred to, traces of animal life are few and meagre.

But none of these evidences are satisfactory. They lack universality and corroborative palæontological testimony, and they may be easily explained by referring them to local glaciers, and not to a widely-prevailing ice age. Thus, when we examine the fossils found in these beds, we often find them to consist in great part of plants and animals which inhabit hot countries, or of marine life (such as reef-building corals) which live in warm seas which could not possibly have been traversed by floating ice. To take one example only as a specimen. There is in Switzerland a formation called 'Flysch,' which consists of dark-coloured slates, marls, and sandstones, and belongs to the Eocene Period. This formation contains great blocks of granite not found in the Alps, as well as foreign pebbles and blocks of gneiss and protogine. These facts show—so we are told—the presence of floating ice and of large glaciers at the time of the deposition of the 'Flysch,' and they indicate, it is urged, a glacial period in the Eocene era, a conclusion which it is said is further supported by the fact, that the 'Flysch' is as a rule destitute of organic remains. This conclusion will not stand the test of a critical examination. For most of the fossils of the Eocene age show that a very hot and tropical climate prevailed at that time over Northern Europe. Forests of palms containing the date-palm, the cocoa-nut, and the areca, grew in England at that era, and magnificent pla— floated on the waters of the rivers, such as are now found

broad bosom of the Ganges. Alligators rustled among the reeds, and monstrous serpents frequented the grass and herbage. Cowries and other tropical shells lay on the beaches along the shores of Britain, and the beautiful nautilus floated on the waters of the English Channel. It is impossible to suppose that such a hot tropical climate in the northern parts of Europe could have been contemporaneous with a great period of ice and snow. More than this, the Eocene beds in the Alps, which are closely associated with the 'Flysch,' contain marine mollusca which belong now to tropical waters, and the other plants and animals found along with these marine mollusca are characteristic of a warm climate. It is impossible then to believe that a glacial period prevailed at the time when the 'Flysch' was deposited. Similar reasoning might be applied to nearly every case in which it is said that traces of an ice-age have been found in many divisions of the Palæozoic, Mesozoic, and Kainozoic formations, and the result always is, that the plants and animals living at the time show that the climate was not cold, but warm and often tropical. Hence we are justified in concluding that geology furnishes evidence of only one great and far-extending glacial period, namely, that great period of snow and ice which occurred during the Pleistocene era.

The last two chapters of *The Glacial Nightmare* are most interesting, since in them Sir H. Howorth declares that in explaining the phenomena of the Quaternary deposits, we must supplement the action of glaciers, by that of a great flood. As these deposits present so many intricate and difficult problems, a brief notice of them may not be out of place.

Between the formations of the Pleiocene age and the recent deposits, there are found confused but extensive beds of sand, clay, and gravel, which are spread over vast surfaces of country in England, Scotland, Northern Europe, and North America. For a long time geologists called these deposits 'Diluvium,' because it was thought that they were formed by great diluvial waves sweeping over the land, and bearing before them, gravel, sand, pebbles, and boulders. This was the view so ably set forth by Dean Buckland, the great champion of the diluvial theory.* Later on,

* See his *Reliquiæ Diluvianæ*.

these beds were called 'Drift,' from their being transported and arranged by water, and the term, 'Northern Drift,' was also bestowed upon them, because of the northern or semi-arctic character of many of the shells contained in them. At present they are termed 'Quaternary,' or 'Superficial,' and although many difficulties are connected with their formation, they are generally supposed to owe their origin either to ice *directly* in the form of glaciers or icebergs, or to the devastating floods which took place when the great ice-sheets melted away. The oldest and most important of these deposits is the Boulder Clay or Till, which is a stiff unstratified clay, generally devoid of all fossils, and containing scratched stones and pebbles. There has been much difference of opinion as to the way in which this boulder clay was formed. Dr. Buckland maintained, that being a member of the 'Diluvium' series of deposits, it was formed by a great deluge, or by a series of deluges.* This view, however, was presently abandoned, and geologists came to hold the opinion that in some manner ice had to do with the origin of the Boulder Clay. Many of them maintained that ice-bergs played the most prominent part in its formation. They believed that in the coldest ages of the Glacial Period vast glaciers ran down into the sea, and that from their extremities ice-bergs broke off and floated away into the ocean. In the process of melting these bergs dropped clay, sand and gravel upon the sea-bottom, thus forming boulder clay, which, when the submerged bottom of the ocean was elevated, formed a coating over the surface of the country. At present, however, this theory, though still held by able geologists, has been generally abandoned, and it is maintained that the Boulder Clay has been deposited on land, and that it is the debris of rocks, ground down to paste by the passage over them of enormous ice-sheets, in the coldest eras of the Glacial Period. Against this theory Sir H. Howorth powerfully argues. It is a striking fact that at present glaciers do not appear to be producing boulder clay, and that if we investigate beneath Alpine glaciers the nature of the deposits formed by them, we find nothing analogous to true boulder-clay. It is easy to say

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* *Reliquiæ Diluvianæ*, pp. 192-193.

that the enormous ice-sheets of the Glacial Period—which were thousands of miles in length—could have formed such a deposit; but this is merely an appeal to our ignorance, and is unsupported by legitimate evidence. Moreover, in the boulder-clay, shells of small mollusca are often found. How came they there? If the boulder-clay has been formed by the grinding down of rocks by enormous sheets of ice, then most certainly the power which crushed and ground the *rocks* into clay, would grind the fragile *shells* into minute fragments invisible to the naked eye? Sir H. Howorth maintains that the boulder-clay is an aqueous deposit, such as is now being deposited in the Greenland fiords by the streams which issue from underneath the glaciers, when these rivers of ice reach the sea.* A similar deposit is, so it is said, being formed in the Spitzbergen fiords, which, we are assured, resembles the boulder-clay or till of Scotland.

The 'Drift' deposits above the boulder-clay, consist of gravels, clays, and brick-earths: these are scattered over vast extents of country in Europe, and in North America, and have given rise to endless controversies. Sir H. Howorth has described them at great length in an admirable series of papers in *The Geological Magazine*, entitled 'Traces of a Great Post Glacial Flood.'† Most geologists are now agreed, that these deposits were formed by the torrential action of floods of water, but they differ as to details. Mr. James Geikie has maintained with great power of argument, and with his well known beauty of illustration, that these deposits are the results of great floods that took place during the Glacial Period, when the ice-sheets were melting.‡ The gravels of England, containing what are known as Palœolithic implements, *i.e.* weapons formed from flint by men who lived with the Mammoth, hippopotamus, and sabre-toothed tiger, were probably formed in a similar manner, according to Mr. Geikie, by immense bodies of water sweeping over the country when the great ice-sheets began to melt, and continued to decrease as the climate grew warmer.§ One of the latest—if not the very latest—member of the group of drift deposits, is that

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* *Glacial Nightmare*, p. 778.
† *Geological Magazine*, 1882-1883.
‡ *Prehistoric Europe*, p. 234-242.
§ *Great Ice-Age*, p. 534.

strange formation, so often met with in different parts of Europe, called the Loess. This deposit is a geological puzzle, and has led geologists to frame the most contradictory theories to account for its origin. With reference to it Sir Charles Lyell says—'Some skilful geologists, peculiarly well acquainted with the physical geography of Europe, have styled the Loess, the most difficult geological problem, although belonging to the period of existing land-shells, and the highest and newest by position of all the great formations.'* The Loess is found in the valleys of the Rhine and the Danube, and in those of their tributaries. It occurs in Belgium, France, Silesia, and Bohemia; and has been observed to be largely developed in Hungary, Transylvania, and in Roumania. But it is in China that this strange formation is most largely developed, and its peculiarities in this last-named country, which have been frequently observed by travellers, have been admirably described by Baron Richthofen. Mr. Geikie describes the Loess as 'a yellow' or pale grayish-brown, fine-grained, and more or less homogenous, consistent, non-plastic loam, consisting of an intimate admixture of clay and carbonate of lime. It is frequently perforated by long vertical root-like tubes, which are lined with carbonate of lime, a structure which imparts to the loess a strong tendency to cleave or divide in vertical planes. Thus it usually presents upright bluffs or cliffs upon the margins of streams or rivers which intersect it.† How was this Loess formed? Sir C. Lyell terms it 'inundation mud,' and refers its origin to the Rhine, but the Loess is unlike a fluviatile deposit, and the shells found in it are not fluviatile but terrestial. Others maintained that the Loess was a lacustrine formation, but this of course had to be abandoned when the great extent and wide distribution of the Loess were ascertained. Mr. J. Geikie, after giving a most admirable account of the Loess, falls back on the theory of inundations which were occasioned by the melting of the ice of the great European *Mer de Glace*, which he maintains covered nearly all northern Europe when the Glacial Period was at its height.

Sir H. Howorth, on the other hand, puts forth quite a new

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* *Antiquity of Man.* † *Prehistoric Europe*, p. 144.

theory of the origin of the Loess, and declares that, in his opinion, it is a volcanic mud poured forth from subterranean sources by the eruption of numerous volcanoes, and spread over vast districts by the rushing waters of a great flood.* This view was immediately attacked by Baron Richthofen† and Dr. Nehring‡; the former of whom maintained that the Loess of China had been formed by atmospheric waste and wind-action, and that the winds blowing over the sandy deserts had formed the deposit, as we now see it in eastern Asia. A most interesting controversy occurred on this question, but Sir H. Howorth fully held his ground against his powerful assailants. It seems impossible to resist the conclusion that rushing water has distributed the Loess, and when we observe further, that the Loess is found not merely in valleys but also clothing table-lands, covering hill-tops, and reaching up mountain sides to a height of 3000 or 4000 feet, and even more, we are compelled to conclude that the water-action which distributed it, must have been on a most stupendous scale. In North America, Dr. Wright tells us that deposits of Loess are largely developed, and he refers their origin to the melting of ice-sheets which occasioned local deluges, and to torrents rushing from the front of the great *Mer de Glace* which he believes then covered so large a portion of the country.

Taking a general view of this most interesting controversy, we think that it cannot be denied that a great flood closed the Pleistocene period, and swept away Palæolithic Man, and the great extinct mammalia associated with him. The reasoning of Sir H. Howorth concerning the Mammoth's remains and bodies in the Siberian *Tundras* appears to be incontrovertible. Only a great flood could have piled up the bones, tusks, and other remains of these huge elephants in countless myriads on the hills of the islands in the Arctic Ocean, and only a great flood could have filled the soil of the plains of Northern Siberia with the bodies and bones of these gigantic animals. The South American Pampas also tell the same tale, and the huge deposits of bones in

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* *Geological Magazine*, Vol. IX., pp. 69-81.

† *Ibid.* Vol. IX., pp. 293-305. ‡ *Ibid.* Vol. X., pp. 51-58

§ *Man and the Glacial Period*, p. 120.

many places in Europe and in North America, can only be explained by referring them to a like cause. The evidence from palæontology on this point appears to be complete, but the testimony of the formation and distribution of the drift beds is more difficult to interpret. In many places it is a question of ice against water, and other points, such as the existence of gigantic ice-sheets and of extraordinary climatal conditions, are involved in the controversy. It seems certain, however, that at the close of the Glacial Period, either a great deluge of extraordinary character desolated the northern regions of the world, or a flood period occurred, which was characterised by incessant floods, arising from the melting of local glaciers, and of great ice-sheets. Meantime the whole scientific world is deeply indebted to Sir H. Howorth for the admirable manner in which he has discussed this most interesting question, and for the increased light which his most valuable researches have cast upon one of the most difficult problems of geological science.

D. Gath Whitley.

Art. VIII.—STANDING STONES AND MAESHOWE OF STENNESS.

ALONG the margin of the fruitful borderland of the dark regions and unfathomed depths of prehistoric times, the Archaeologist has for many years been pushing forward, taper in hand, and trying with the aid of kindred sciences to explore and illumine man's early history on the earth, so that in these latter days a systematic and scientific study of the subject is being pursued, which is gradually causing the shadows which veiled our gaze to recede. This inquiry has already borne fruitful results, has collected a vast array of interesting facts, dispelled many illusions, and prepared the way for yet further exploration. All the same, it has left many questions of great import shrouded in the deepest mystery.

With the help of science we are able to classify the structural remains belonging to the speechless past into abodes for the living, tombs for the dead, and temples for worship. Of these none are more difficult to decipher or more pregnant with interest than the last.

blocks were erected, shaped, and fitted into each other with an adaptability unknown amongst the earlier builders. Avebury, with its long approach of columns, must at one time have been impressive, but the rude hand of demolition has defaced its massiveness and grandeur. Stenness, on the other hand, bears every evidence of primitive simplicity and deliverance from Vandalism; and when it is considered that, coupled with this, we have here a combination of the howe and the circle, no one need wonder that we claim for it the first place amongst this class of prehistoric relics in the United Kingdom.

It is not without some trepidation that we venture on the quicksands of circles and monoliths; but if we sink, the consolation is left that others, men of incomparably greater ability and knowledge than the present writer, have done the same. The only claims on which we base a right to be heard are those of deep interest in, and daily association with, these stern, weather-beaten watchmen of a crude and distant age, which have stared us in the face for years with scornful and reproaching glance, as if saying :—

> 'We laugh at your puny thought,
> And we scorn your idle dreaming.'

Various and considerably diverse theories have been entertained by men of eminence regarding the origin and purposes of these prehistoric monuments; but each theory is based on a superstructure of collateral evidence rather than on anything inherent in the monuments themselves, and as a consequence the conclusions are only relatively tentative.

Some of these it may be as well to refer to, before proceeding to state our observations and conclusions. Three reasons have been propounded by eminent authors for the erection of these circles, and one for that of Maeshowe.

1st. Monumental.
2nd. Sepulchral.
3rd. Worship—(Sun, Moon, and Planetary).
Maeshowe has ever been regarded as sepulchral

The first of these has its chief advocate in the late Dr. Ferguson, who concluded that the Stenness circles

erected by the Norsemen to commemorate a celebrated battle between Havard and his nephew in the year 970, in which the uncle fell. There are two reasons why this theory is untenable. Firstly, the fact that the Norsemen called this place and the parish Steinsnes, shows that they knew it only as it is known to us, as the Ness of the Stanes or Stones, and if they had erected them the fact would have been incidentally recorded in the Sagas. Secondly. The Orkneyinga Saga, an almost infallible authority, says, that the Norsemen after the same battle proposed to change the name of the place from Steinsnes to Havards-teigr; showing it was so named previous to the bloody battle in its neighbourhood.

The second (Sepulchral) theory has the largest number of adherents. Direct proof for this belief cannot be given, as no human remains, so far as is known, have ever been found in either circle. A dolmen of large dimensions certainly exists on the N.E. side of the smaller circle; but whether an altar, as we believe, or a dolmen, there is no direct evidence. No doubt proof can be given that inside certain other circles, such as Callernish, sepulchral remains have been found; but even then the difficulty is removed only a single stage. The queries arise: Were the circles erected as monuments simply, commemorative of the dead, or were worshippers attracted thither with the remains of some celebrated warrior or archpriest, the burial of which within the sacred precincts of a renowned temple was regarded as a religious honour? That the inside of places of worship was held as unusually sacred for sepulchral purposes admits of no doubt—witness the floors and crypts of many cathedrals, from Westminster Abbey downwards. Even the proprietor of the farm of Brodgar, on which the larger circle stands, tradition says, made a present of it to the Church after his death, on the condition that his body was to be buried within it.

It has been suggested that if the larger circle were properly examined, especially its central parts, evidence might be got of a burial in urns, or cists. The centre has been dug up, but with no results whatever, save the unturfing of a hard subsoil of boulder clay and gravel. Mr. Westropp believes

that if human remains exist, they lie somewhere in a straight line from the centre to its direct south. No attempt has hitherto been made to test the truth of this theory, but chiefly owing to the hopelessness of the search.

With regard to the third (the *Worship*) theory. It is the object of this article to prove by demonstrative evidence that sun and moon worship were the main predisposing factors which led to the erection of these monuments. Even at the present day ancient rites of sun worshippers, although they have gradually declined into quaint customs and vulgar superstitions, possess such vitality, that they continue despite of power and punishment, and have not been obliterated by time or civilization. Colonel Leslie says:—'Even now this vast organisation, the Church armed with its mighty and all-embracing message for over one thousand years, and with the manifestation of a spirit of peace and love, purity and self-sacrifice, has not been wholly able to melt and weld the hearts of men from *Sun worship*, owing to the indelible hold with which it had twined itself round the hearts of men.' In proof of this we need only mention our Beltane fires, Midsummer fires Yule feastings, Christmas football, burying the dead east and west, and the direction in which our Churches used to be built.

The Chambered Mound of Maeshowe demands a word in parting from its old traditions of darkness to take its legitimate place as the observatory of the prince of light and the heavenly hosts, instead of being the ghastly receptacle and charnel house of the dead; to be the palace of the arch-priest of Belus instead of the prison of death. Maeshowe has always been viewed as sepulchral, although when opened no human remains were found amongst the heaps of rubbish it contained of animal and fish bones, and other debris. Nor in the other two large mounds of similar construction was anything found to establish this idea, which has no doubt been principally borrowed from Scandinavian Archaeology. Maeshowe is the principal chambered mound in Western Europe. Only three others approach it in size, and are somewhat similar in design and construction. These are New Grange and Douth on the

Boyne, and Gavr Innis in Brittany. We agree most heartily with the suggestion thrown out by Colonel Leslie, that they bear no internal proof of being specially prepared as repositories of the dead. The external heaps of earth which surround them and are generally believed to bear evidence of being used for sepulchral purposes, may have been added at some later date when the memory of their pristine importance had passed away. Maeshowe may have been, as other mounds were, desecrated, and to some extent demolished, in order that the spell which fascinated the Orcadian sun-worshippers to their ancient temple might be weakened and possibly destroyed. For not till 1861 did its chamber of beautiful natural stone and columnar corner supports see the light of day, although we know that it stood intact during the 11th and 12th centuries, when the predatory Norsemen occasionally resorted to it, and inscribed those runic sentences upon its walls which have considerably increased its interest.

Lastly, the three cells in Maeshowe which are supposed to have served as sepulchral crypts are about 6 ft. by 4½, whilst those similarly situated in Douth and Gavr Innis are only 3 ft. by 3. The difference is remarkable. In external appearances, entrances, sizes, and number and position of cells, etc., these three chambered mounds closely resemble each other, but here in size and shape, where one would have expected the closest similarity, the greatest differences occur.

We hope to be able subsequently to show that the original purpose for which Maeshowe was designed was not sepulchral, although in a secondary sense it may have been so used.

The entrance to Maeshowe opens to the S.W., in marked contrast to the burial cairns in the neighbourhood, such as Unstan and Barnhouse, where the passages open directly towards the East and the rising sun, the sustainer and vivifier of all creation, a true emblem of resurrection. The passage leading into Maeshowe is 54 feet in length, 3 feet in width, and 4½ feet in height, but at the entrance it is contracted until the doorway is only 2½ × 4 feet. When opened in 1861 there was a still further contracted passage, which left only a very small

opening. Now, on placing oneself at the innermost end of the central chamber, in front of the cell on the N. E. side, and looking out through the long passage on the surrounding landscape, the view is very limited, not extending farther in breadth than a few yards. Strange to say, *in the centre of this contracted view*, and at a *distance of* 42 *chains*, stands the Monolith at Barnhouse, one of the most conspicuous of the few outstanding menhirs not embraced in the circles.

The alignment formed with this long passage of Maeshowe and the Standing Stone of Barnhouse indicates directions too remarkable to be merely accidental. The straight line thus formed points in a south-westerly direction to the point where the sun sets some ten days before the winter solstice, whilst the same alignment in the opposite direction points unequivocably to the point where the sun rises on mid-summer morning. We know from the customs of sun worshippers, in India and elsewhere, that the feast held at the winter solstice lasted not for a day or two, but generally for a fortnight. Our own Yule feasts, which no doubt is a relic of sun worship (not yet dissociated from our current methods of doing honour to the birth of Christ by mixing the prayers of the sanctuary with merry-making, feasting and revelling), extended quite recently to about a fortnight. Not fifty years ago, between the first of Yule and the completion of this yearly carnival, a fortnight intervened. There seems no reason therefore why this alignment should not have been laid off to point to the setting sun on the day on which this feast commenced, as symbolical of the time when the powers of darkness were believed to attain supremacy, not only over the sun, whose course in the heavens was daily shortened till December 22nd, but over all Nature, when she was held in the chilling embraces of winter's silver king. No doubt the origin of this feast was a period of fasting and sacrifice, the object of which was to invoke the sun god not to desert the world but to retrace his steps in the heavens. Owing, however, to the supposed association with the grim king of terrors and his hosts, seeking to exercise supremacy

over the sun god, it gradually degenerated into a period when vice and lust often reigned supreme.

Then there is clear evidence that midsummer was the time of a feast which is still commemorated in our midsummer bonfires, vigils of St. John, leaping over and through the fires, etc. In Scotland, Col. Leslie says, that at this period a wheel covered and twisted with straw used to be taken up the nearest hill-side and set on fire, and then rolled down to represent the sun in his receding course.

Once more let us take our stand outside the entrance to Maeshowe, and look directly westward. The eye falls in line with the noted Watchstone at the Bridge of Brodgar, which has hitherto been considered as a mere outgrowth from the circles; but the real significance both of its name and situation is now apparent. The distance from *Maeshowe to the Watchstone is* 63 *chains.*

During two seasons of the year, at the Equinoxes, this line would be watched for with peculiar interest. We know that at these periods, March and September, feasts were held to celebrate the crossing of the sun over the equinoctial line in his descending and ascending courses.

The next alignment we desire to notice is one of equal if not of greater importance than those already described. The two stones we have already mentioned, viz., that at Barnhouse, 15 feet high, and the Watchstone, 18½ feet above ground, form *a straight line with the centre of the Brodgar Circle* without a yard's deviation. *The distance between the two stones is* 42 *chains*, the same as that from Maeshowe to the winter solstice stone. The distance from the *Watchstone to the centre of the circle is* 63 *chains*, the same as that to Maeshowe. The total length of the line thus formed is 105 chains, while its direction is north-westerly and south-easterly; on the one hand toward the setting sun, during the first week of May, the universal Beltane feast; and on the other, the South Easterly direction, towards the point where the sun emerges, about ten days before the winter solstice—when the feast began. The practice of kindling fires on prominent places at this period of the year in honour of Baal, Belus, Apollo, etc., was once so

common and universal throughout Scotland as to require here no more than mere mention. Not many years ago, the practice could have been seen in Orkney, in the last stages of its protracted existence, when young people passed through the fire, and bones were thrown into it—relics no doubt of its sacrificial origin.

The last alignment of the series falls in from the centre of the Circle of Brodgar to Maeshowe, and points to the rising sun at Hallowe'en—a feast observed in Orkney with more vitality than any other. This was, and still is in many places, the season at which fortunes are read, warlocks and witches consulted; destinies foretold, and many other superstitions observed. In Perthshire, on Hallowe'en, fires are lit on hills and rising grounds. When the materials are consumed, the ashes are carefully gathered in the form of a circle. Near this stones representing each person engaged, are placed, and if anything befalls this representative, it is believed that the person whom it represents will die within twelve months.

These alignments indicate all the important feasts of the sun worshippers, and they include all the stray stones of Stenness, with three minor exceptions, which will be mentioned immediately.

Up to the present we have said nothing about the smaller circle standing near these alignments, but which is entirely outside their sphere. We are thoroughly convinced that this is the Moon Circle, but lest we should be tedious, and the reader confused, we prefer for the present to pass it by, venturing only one or two remarks. The distance from Maeshowe to the Moon Circle is 79 chains, and forms no multiple of the rest, as it must have been observed some of them do. It stands W.S.W. of Maeshowe, and 5° to the S.W. of the Beltane line, when viewed from the larger circle. Maeshowe, the centre of the Moon Circle, and a standing stone in Cairston, across the Stenness Loch, form one straight line. The distance from Maeshowe to the smaller circle is 79 chains, and from the smaller circle to the standing stone in Cairston 158 chains, showing that the one is a multiple of the other, but having no near bonds of measurement with the sun alignment.

These 5° are also significant because we know that the heavenly path of the moon, which corresponds to the solar solstices, that is, its south and north declinations, extend 5° either way further than those of the sun in its annual path.

The various distances may be recapitulated here to show more clearly the exact mathematical relationship existing between each of these carefully arranged solar sentinels :—

From Maeshowe to St. Stone at Barnhouse,	42	Chains.
From Barnhouse to Watch Stone, -	42	,,
From Watch Stone to larger Circle, -	63	,,
,, ,, to Maeshowe, -	63	,,
From Maeshowe to Moon Circle, - -	79	,,
From Moon Circle to St. Stone Cairston,	158	,,

Besides these important alignments pointing to the rising and setting sun at all the high feasts of sun worshippers, as well as the intimate connection between many of the customs and superstitions of the Orcadians and their periodic feasts, there is also an inner and closer relationship between these circles and the worship of the sun and moon. The larger circle stands near to both the Harray and Stenness Lochs, a fact often pointed to, as showing some close connection between the object for which they were erected, and nature worship. From this circle one can get a less interrupted view of the heavenly expanse than from any other central site on the mainland of Orkney. Neither during the rising nor the setting of the sun is the view of Belus intercepted, except by a ridge of low, distant hills.

As is well known, there is a deep trench surrounding the larger circle of about 8 ft. in depth and 30 ft. in width. This has been variously interpreted. It may have been a barrier against the impious and sacriligious, but more probably it was a representation of the photosphere of the sun, with which the worshippers of the sun were acquainted. Inside this, the diameter of the circle is 365 ft., which corresponds with the number of days in the year. It may, of course, be doubted whether the foot for a foot measure, which every tribe capable of the simplest calculations had, was of the same length as ours; but as our foot measure stands considerably above the average of the present day, it is more probably an inheritance from

semi-barbarism. The diameter, however, from rim to rim, is 365 feet. The circle stands at a distance of 17 ft. from the edge of the trench, and leaves the diameter of the circle 330 ft., which gives a circumference of 1037 ft. The stones stand, as a rule, 19 feet apart, a few 22 feet, and one or two even farther; whilst two or three stand 12 feet apart. As all the stones, except fourteen, are out of position, and several have been entirely removed, it does not seem an unreasonable average to take 19½ feet. Now this gives us 52 stones which correspond to the number of moon changes during one year, and which no doubt provided a suitable subdivision of the year. The origin of the week has been traced to the same mode of division by the late eminent astronomer, Mr. Proctor. The day, month, and year are natural divisions of time observed by all nations; but the moon changes are also significant, and still hold a conspicuous place in folk-lore, weather prognostics, and domestic undertakings of considerable variety.

It follows as a natural conclusion that where the sun was daily sacrificed to, the weekly sacrifice would be more prominent and specially marked.

The smaller circle has a diameter of 116 feet, which gives a circumference of 365 feet—the exact diameter of the larger circle. The two stones at present standing are 18½ feet in height and 28 feet apart, which gives us 13 stones, corresponding to the number of moons in the year, a result one would naturally expect from the interwoven web and mysterious relationships which, according to our theory, here obtain.

Three stones of this group still remain to be noticed—one about a hundred yards from the sun circle, and a twin pair near the Bridge of Brodgar, 150 yards in a north-westerly direction from the Watch Stone. The distance between this pair and the outpost from the larger circle is again 42 chains. Now, it is interesting to note the position of these three standing stones from the circles. The one near the Sun Circle no doubt represents Venus, following the great sun-god in his fiery chariot, sometimes coursing in his wake and at other times his harbinger. The distance he stands from the circle corresponds pretty closely to his relative position in the

heavens as observed by deeply interested astrologers long centuries before Newton and La Place assigned to the planets their exact mathematical positions and motions.

The two stones which stand near Brodgar, not more than a few yards apart, are no doubt meant to represent the planets, Jupiter and Saturn. It must have struck these superstitious astronomers as deeply mysterious that these stars should have an erratic course of their own through the starry host, and at certain periods come close together as here intelligibly represented by this pair of standing stones.

The stone which we take to represent Venus is so situated that looking along some alignments it disappears amidst the giant pillars of the Sun Circle, whilst along others it is distinct from them, just as Venus is too near at certain stages of its revolution to be seen by the unaided eye. Round this stone there is evidence that at one time it was surrounded by a very small circle, possibly not more than 15 feet in diameter. The waxing and waning of Venus, if not its phases, must have attracted attention, as it is the largest and brightest object in the heavens after the sun and moon, and so it is represented here in position and magnitude with wonderful correctness.

The two circles, the Watch Stone and Barnhouse Stone, together with these three smaller ones, make up the total, *seven*—a number corresponding to the planetary system as known to the ancients. This number, seven, as must have been previously observed, is a multiple of every distance we have recorded, proving a nice harmony in the whole arrangement.

There is one stone of some importance which has not been referred to—the Stone of Odin. Its exact position is now unknown, although the stone was demolished only seventy years ago. It was peculiar in so far as it was perforated about 5 ft. above ground. It is well known that along side, or forming part of these circles, were perforated stones. This one, if it were erected at the same time as the others, must have been connected with the Moon Circle, from the fact that it stood little more than a hundred feet from it, in a north-easterly direction. If it did

yards in diameter, with one or two steps leading down to it. The quantity of water flowing from its single spring is almost incredible; and the vague idea of the supernatural agency was increased by the fact that the voluminous stream finds an underground passage for several yards before emerging to the light of day. It is important to note that the well is in the same straight line with that already indicated, pointing to the Beltane straight line and winter solstice. We do not mean that the line was erected to point to the well, but where a large meadow abounding in springs was, it seems easy for men who erected these huge monoliths to dig a broad and deep well into which many of the others, according to laws they had observed, would flow. The distance from the well to the circle, as taken from the Ordnance Survey, is 197 chains, and is no multiple of the other measurements. If, however, a chain were laid on it, the howes and knowes might stretch it to an exact multiple.

Be that as it may, we know from tradition that down to the time when the Stone of Odin was demolished, parents came to the well with children, on Beltane and Midsummer, passed round it sunwise, and having bathed their little ones (a healthy ordeal), carried them thence to the Stone of Odin, and passed them through the hole as a divine protection against the malignant influences of the evil one. No doubt they also passed round the circle, but regarding this tradition is silent. On these feast days also, lovers wended their airy footsteps, probably at twilight, to the sacred well, drank of its virtue-imparting waters, and finally repaired to the Stone of Oden, where the solemn and religiously binding ceremony was performed of joining hands through the hole—a vow held as sacred as the legal marriage of the present. In fact, when the vow of Odin was desecrated, the offender was ostracised from society. Those subject to fits or insanity, whether man or woman, were also plunged in the well at this period, and then tied to a post erected for the purpose and left all night. If the malady had disappeared they were released, if not, the same process was gone through next feast time. The palsied, rheumatic, and decrepit of every kind were made partakers of

6th.—The Hallowe'en Feast. Its observance was held religiously in Orkney in every parish till quite recently.

7th.—The Midwinter Rising. In Maeshowe may have been kept the sacred fire, which was entirely extinguished at least once a year, and re-kindled by friction in honour of Belus.

There is also some significance in the fact that Belus was always held in great veneration. Wallace, the historian of Orkney, in 1693, heads his list of the Orkney Kings with Belus. The name of this deity was so closely interwoven into the affections and thoughts of the people, that when Christianity supplanted him, he was still called king. Wallace gives short descriptions of all the others, but regarding Belus he says nothing, for nothing could be said, but the head of the list is honoured with his name.

Closely associated with the circles, and occupying an equally important position in the religious rites and ceremonies of the ancient inhabitants, were sacred wells. These were more numerous than circles, no doubt owing to the fact that their acquisition was more easily accomplished: but amongst sacred wells we find certain, as we find certain circles, occupying a position of pre-eminence in the religious cult of their votaries, and these, as a rule, in close proximity to Sun and Moon temples. At Tillie Beltane, in Aberdeenshire, in close proximity to the remains of a larger and smaller circle, is a well which was held sacred by the people. According to Col. Leslie, on Beltane and Midsummer days, those on whom the dire hand of disease had fallen, or those desirous of averting that calamity, went seven times round the sacred wells sunwise (deasil) and then proceeded to the circles where a like ceremony was performed.

In Stenness we find the same association of the well and the circles. But in harmony with the unrivalled completeness of these monuments, which we have endeavoured to demonstrate as sun and moon circles, we find the sacred well here in a closer and deeper connection with the circles than elsewhere.

In the parish of Stenness there is a district called Bigswell, in the centre of which is a sacred well, and from which the district takes its name, *Big(s)well.* At one time it was several

yards in diameter, with one or two steps leading down to it. The quantity of water flowing from its single spring is almost incredible; and the vague idea of the supernatural agency was increased by the fact that the voluminous stream finds an underground passage for several yards before emerging to the light of day. It is important to note that the well is in the same straight line with that already indicated, pointing to the Beltane straight line and winter solstice. We do not mean that the line was erected to point to the well, but where a large meadow abounding in springs was, it seems easy for men who erected these huge monoliths to dig a broad and deep well into which many of the others, according to laws they had observed, would flow. The distance from the well to the circle, as taken from the Ordnance Survey, is 197 chains, and is no multiple of the other measurements. If, however, a chain were laid on it, the howes and knowes might stretch it to an exact multiple.

Be that as it may, we know from tradition that down to the time when the Stone of Odin was demolished, parents came to the well with children, on Beltane and Midsummer, passed round it sunwise, and having bathed their little ones (a healthy ordeal), carried them thence to the Stone of Odin, and passed them through the hole as a divine protection against the malignant influences of the evil one. No doubt they also passed round the circle, but regarding this tradition is silent. On these feast days also, lovers wended their airy footsteps, probably at twilight, to the sacred well, drank of its virtue-imparting waters, and finally repaired to the Stone of Oden, where the solemn and religiously binding ceremony was performed of joining hands through the hole—a vow held as sacred as the legal marriage of the present. In fact, when the vow of Odin was desecrated, the offender was ostracised from society. Those subject to fits or insanity, whether man or woman, were also plunged in the well at this period, and then tied to a post erected for the purpose and left all night. If the malady had disappeared they were released, if not, the same process was gone through next feast time. The palsied, rheumatic, and decrepit of every kind were made partakers of

its healing virtues, even neuralgia and other minor ailments were supposed to be removed by its efficacious powers. As late as a few years prior to the demolition of the Stone of Odin, a woman was known to have travelled about 12 miles to lay her pain-racked head within the healing embraces of Odin's Monolith. One can picture her disappointment on finding that her low stature precluded her from this privilege. After a little thought she gathered some small stones, and by standing upon them got her head into the desired hole. Whilst thus dedicating herself to the healer, the stones slipped away from beneath her and she was left with her head in the chill, relentless grasp of Odin. After several painful and frantic efforts she managed to extricate her head, and found that her neuralgia was cured, and that her only pains were where her head and Odin had come into too close grips.

Around the sacred precincts of these circles, howes and wells, cluster many a name pregnant with meaning, each containing a chapter of information in itself, as the words Bigswell and Stenness do, but the path, however inviting, must at present be left untrod.

On the ridge of Bigswell Hill and in about the same line, pointing to Beltane and Midsummer feasts, a large bonfire used to be lit every midsummer eve. These fires were kindled, till within a few years ago, on several heights in Orkney. Much of the folk-lore of the neighbourhood is identified with fire stories at Maeshowe and the Standing Stones. From these sacred fires household fires were rekindled at stated periods.

With the view of confirming the views here expressed, I have to add the following collateral evidence :—

1st. Belus heads the list of Orkney Kings.

2nd. The Friar's Heel at Stonehenge has often been represented as pointing with another stone to the rising sun at midsummer.

3rd. Dr. Wise has found, in at least two circles, certain stones pointing to the Winter and Summer Solstices. These are at Crichie in Aberdeen and Leath Broch near Dunrobin.

4th. Circles have often been found in pairs, as at Avebury and Dartmore.

The alignments in Stenness differ materially from the others in so far as the latter are formed by stones close together, whilst those of Stenness are in several cases more than half a mile apart.

In concluding this paper, in which an attempt has been made to lift the mist cloud a little off the night of time, in order to get a faint glimpse at the shrines of a dark and mystic age, it may be remarked that there is no gradual blending of historic and prehistoric times, but a division both sharp and decisive, over which it is to be hoped a bridge will soon be thrown. There is something gratifying in the thought that the lingering influences of idolatrous worship prolonged its death throes longer in these corners than anywhere else, and has thereby left us pre-historic landmarks, which may yet be a guide to the unwritten record of the past. Whoever the men who erected these monumental shrines may have been, let us pay them a well deserved tribute in saying that their mathematical skill, their physical power in overcoming almost insuperable difficulties, and their careful observations of the planetary system, prove beyond doubt that they had made marked progress in civilization. They must have lived in aggregates and worked with united purpose and under the inspiration of religious zeal.

Whilst seasons come and go, these weather-beaten memorial stones stand on the bleak, undulating moorland of the Orcades, dumb, motionless, and unchangeable. Long before the predatory incursions of the daring and hardy Norsemen beat so vehemently and ruthlessly on these Northern shores; long before the Picts built their defensive broughs to defy the onslaughts of their foemen; long before the disciples of St. Columba scattered throughout these islands the seeds of Christianity, which, after ages of civilization, ripened into fruition, till the faith of the fireworshippers was threatened with extinction, these grey monoliths stood, as they stand to-day, watching the gradual growth of the supremacy of mind over matter, and listening to the fretful waves which sing their ceaseless lullaby on the shingly shore close by.

MAGNUS SPENCE.

ART. X.—SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

GERMANY.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (July, August, September).—In the first two of these numbers considerable space is given to a sketch of the career of Marco Minghetti, one of those who, with Victor Emmanuel, Gioberti, Cavour, Gino Capponi, Rosmini, and Massimo d'Azeglio, helped to make Italy independent and united. The essay is confessedly based on Minghetti's own reminiscences, 'Miei Ricordi'; but the material drawn from them has been judiciously selected and is well disposed, whilst, in addition to this, the writer gives his own fair and impartial estimate of the statesman's public life and work, so that, altogether, the contribution is a most readable and interesting one.—Of other articles, the July part contains three which either conclude or continue subjects begun in former months. Thus Frau Lily von Kretschman gives the last instalment of her 'Literary Evenings of the Grand Duchess Maria Paulowna,' a valuable contribution to the history of German literature in the early part of the century; further, Herr Julius Rodenburg brings the record of his pleasant excursion to the Mediterranean a stage further, and devotes an excellent paper to 'Syracuse.'—This is followed up, in August and September, by reminiscences and impressions of Taormina and Aci Reale, and of Girgenti and Palermo.—Finally, the extracts from Theodor von Bernhardi's diary are brought to a close.—In the August number, Herr Robert Vischer has a psychological study entitled 'Ueber ästhetische Naturbetrachtung.' —More generally interesting than this is the account which Herr Adolf Marcas gives of 'A visit to the Hawaiian islands.' Besides containing a picturesque description of the Archipelago and its people, it supplies a brief but able sketch of their history.—The September part is full of particularly readable matter. It opens with a charming little story, 'Stilles Wasser.'—This is followed by an admirable essay which Herr Paul Heyse devotes to the Italian poet Gioachino Belli, and which he supplements with an excellent translation of a number of the satirist's sonnets.—Scientists will welcome the name of Professor Haeckel in the table of contents, and will turn with interest to the paper which he contributes. It is entitled 'The Original Inhabitants of Ceylon'—Die Urbewohner von Ceylon—and its object is to show what arguments may be drawn from an examination of the characteristic features and attributes of the Weddas in favour of the theory of evolution.—Not less striking, though widely different

in subject, is the historical study which bears the signature of Ludwig Friedländer. It deals with the persecutions of the Christians by the Roman Emperors, and should do something towards destroying some of the myths which have arisen and been accepted through centuries in connection with these episodes in the history of the Christian Church.—In all the numbers, there are, as usual, literary, political, and other letters, and, on the whole, the quarter is as varied and interesting as any we have had occasion to notice.

WESTERMANNS MONATS-HEFTE (July, August, September).—This magazine has made a new departure which deserves special notice and unqualified praise. Its illustrations were always good; they are now strikingly beautiful. In finish and delicacy they equal anything to be found in either European or American periodical publications, and further charm and variety is imparted to them by the tints in which they are produced. In order to afford full scope for this new development, sketches devoted to famous artists are frequently introduced in the table of contents, and accompanied with specimens of their work. The July number brings a striking example of this new specialty. Herr Ludwig Pietch supplies a study of the painter Gustav Spangenberg, and this affords an opportunity for bringing in a series of 15 beautiful illustrations. Three of them are double-page. One reproduces the picture, 'Luther as a boy in the house of Frau Cotta,' and another, 'Luther's entry into Worms.' The third shows the master's allegorical manner. It is the 'Train of Death,' and though but a modification of the old subject, the *danse macabre*, so often treated by mediæval artists, is full of originality both in conception and execution. Amongst the smaller illustrations the 'Will o' the Wisp,' and 'The Three Women at the Tomb of Christ,' are also well worthy of notice. —In August, it is the sculptor Fritz Drake who is dealt with in this way. In the third number, the illustrations are more varied. One of them is an excellent portrait of Pius the Ninth. It accompanies a biographical sketch of the late pope, by Herr Sigmund Münz. The most noticeable of the others are given in connection with a nautical article, 'Die Wegweiser auf hoher See.' Here, too, there is an artistic article, though a less striking one. It treats of the 'Angels of Melozzo da Forli,' and reproduces some rather quaint specimens of them.—The older specialty of the magazine is not, however, abandoned, and we still find profusely illustrated articles of travel. Herr Steindorff's 'Wanderings in the East' appear in the first number; and the Wartburg is visited in the next.—Turning to the literary matter, we find an

interesting essay showing the influence of the new theories of criminality on contemporary fiction; and a conclusion of the sketch of the Marquise de Crequy begun last quarter. These are in the July part. In the next there is an essay on Ernst Wichert, and a rather singular paper on the indefinite article. Finally, the September number contains an article explaining the use of dust in the economy of nature, and a sketch of the women in Beethoven's circle.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (Viertes Heft, 1893).—The first two articles in this number are of an exegetical character, while the two that follow will be of interest chiefly to historical students, and those ecclesiastically minded. The first article discusses the question as to who were the 'weak' and who were the 'strong' in the Church at Rome, referred to by St. Paul in the fourteenth chapter of his Epistle to the Romans. The article is by Herr Ed. Riggenbach, a Privat-Docent in Basel. He gives first a minute summary and analysis of the data furnished by the Epistle itself regarding the things that characterized the 'weak,' and in which the 'strong' differed from them. He then passes under critical review the conclusions come to by distinguished exegetes, ancient and modern, as to the composition of those two parties, and the influence that had co-operated to produce them. These conclusions he places in the light of the data furnished by the Epistle, and in the light of the history, now known to us, of the various religious and philosophical movements of that period; and shows that, when placed in this light, they do not satisfy. He then endeavours to find a more satisfactory solution of the problem, although he confesses that the best solution that can be given, with the imperfect data at command, can only claim the rank of being probably the correct one. His investigations lead him to conclude that the 'weak' were Jewish Christians who had come under, or had grown up under, rabbinic influence, and consequently had come to attach a high degree of importance to certain prescriptions of the Law, and the 'strong' were of Gentile extraction, and naturally regarded these prescriptions differently. The fact that a party in the Church at Rome held these prescriptions in such veneration gave the Judaizers hope of carrying forward their propaganda there, and this accounts for Paul writing to a church which he had no part in founding, and had never seen, but in which, owing to the activity of his opponents, he was now taking a lively interest.—The other exegetical article is by Herr Oberpfarrer Dr. Wandel, of Strassberg. It is an exposition of James iii. 1–8. He enters with extreme

minuteness into every possible detail, linguistic and other, connected with the wording and drift of these verses, and so renders it impossible for us here to summarize his results. The 'redaction' in a prefatory note, expressly intimates dissent from Dr. Wandel's conclusions, but gives the article as likely to prove stimulating to further study of the passage in question.—The third article bears the title 'Kirche und Staat im Westgotenreich von Eurich bis auf Leovigild (466-567-69).' It is by Dr. Franz Görres of Bonn. The other, which is of more general and practical interest, is on the Evangelical Church's obligations to the Confessions and its doctrinal freedom—'die evangelische Kirche ihre Bekenntnisverpflichtung und ihre Lehrfreiheit.' It is from the pen of Herr Pfarrer Köppel, of Manker, and is a contribution to the controversy raging in Germany over the Apostle's Creed—a contribution which the author hopes may tend to allay the heat that has unfortunately marred the Christian character of the controversy, and to make for peace.—The minor articles are, a critical review of Herr K. Marti's exposition (which appeared in the *Studien und Kritiken* last year) of Zechariah vi., 9-15; a short paper on 'St. John's Gospel,' by Herr Dr. Dusterdiech, and one on 'Three Epistles of Sebastian Münster,' by Herr Dr. Pulvermacher. The book reviews include two volumes by Dr. E. C. Acheles on 'Praktische Theologie,' and 'Liturgik,' and the two volumes of Dr. Alfred Krauss' 'Lehrbuch der praktischen Theologie.'

RUSSIA.

VOPROSI PHILOSOPHII I PSYCHOLOGII (Questions, Philosophical and Psychological).—The seventeenth number begins with a paper by M. Tchniko, on the 'Life and Philosophical Opinions of Ernest Renan.' He sets out by lamenting that although one of the most talented and learned thinkers of contemporary France, he had been by no means specially fortunate in the representations of his work in Russian literature. High as the place was, which he held in Semitic literature, he was scarcely known to the Russian public. There is scarcely any notice of his first published work in the Russian press. There are some attacks upon the conservative position he took up, especially at the conclusion of the Franco-German War. The other side of his literary activity was rich in its contents, and more valuable were his works on the history of the origins of religion. In 1863, Renan began to produce these works connected with his name on the 'History of the Origins of Christianity,' on the basis of the latest researches, in which he made use of the critical results of the learned Germans of that day. This naturally

called forth here, as elsewhere, a very bitter polemic. This, however, did not prevent our author from pursuing his researches, and from 1860 to 1865 appeared the first volume of his work, 'Vie de Jesus,' (the ninth edition appearing in 1863.) The book made an unwonted sensation in European literature, the echo of which, although in a weakened form, was also heard in Russian society. The work, however, was received and approved of by very few of any School in its entirety, not even by Positivists or Atheists, or even by Deistical free-thinkers. In Western Europe the book excited much attention. A whole library of books was written against it, but it did not penetrate into Russia: the works produced here against it were only some few *brochures*, and the impression produced was that Renan was somewhat of a *dilletante!* M. Tchniko then goes into a brief notice of Renan's life, which has already been sufficiently before the public—his youth, his scientific mission to Palestine and the East, his elevation to the Academy of Sciences in succession to Augustine Thierry, his appointment to the Chair of Hebrew in the Collége de France. The way was prepared for Renan by Strauss's 'Leben Jesu,' in which the Person of the Crucified was brought before the public mind, and excited a lively interest. Yet, it would be a mistake to say that Renan was merely a follower of Strauss. Without doubt the Frenchman took the elements of the problem from Strauss, yet he separated himself entirely from the author of the 'Leben Jesu' in spirit and tendency. Strauss had not the history in view in the proper sense of the word—the history seemed to him lacking in substantiality from the insufficiency of the given facts—he assailed only the previously accepted theory, which he sought to place on a more rational foundation theologically. From this point of view Strauss took the position of a theologian and thinker of the School of Hegel. Renan, on the contrary, appeared much later, at a time when the Mythological School had, to a large extent, lost credit, as one who had been trained in the heart of Catholicism, from which he had advanced to take up the position of a free-thinker, and not belonging to any determinate theological group, possessing in a high degree the aesthetical sense and, and finally, by speciality, a philologue and an historian, remaining moreover to the end an historian and an exegete. Renan's method depended, therefore, upon wide reading, and acquaintance with contemporary research in Germany, to which he applied a remarkably clear judgment. His position as a theologian was that of a moderate rationalist. M. Tchinko following Prof. Kozloff's remarks on the similarity to Schopenhauer, which runs through M. Renan's writings, and his strivings to take up a more

or less positive basis.—Hereupon comes the last article of a series on 'Beauty, Life and Creation,' which is occupied more or less with discussions of an aesthetical kind. These are less interesting from their being little known save to a Russian audience, but there are gleams of insight which have an attractive character. The earlier authors, who treated the subject of aesthetics, had been content to regard it as nothing in particular from the scientific point of view. The subject, however, came into different hands. In 1866, a *brochure* issued from the press, containing a number of dissertations, in which the author assailed the positions of Tchernishoffski and the syncretism which he defended on the basis of the writings of Vischer, with which he undertook to acquaint the Russian public. The author, a M. Stutcheffski, had just returned from abroad, where he had been engaged for some time in the study of the history of Philosophy and Aesthetics, Art and Literature. Unluckily, his proofs, intermingled with copious extracts from the aesthetics of Vischer, were couched in a style which could not recommend them to his readers. It is impossible to follow the author of the article in his account of the aesthetical controversies which were successively raised, but he finally discovers that the work of Prince Volkonsky is scarcely satisfactory in doing that which it pretends to do, *i.e.*, to give an indication of the new direction, in questions of art and artistic literature, taken here of late years.—This article is followed by a paper read at a sitting of the Psychological Society in Moscow, in which M. Ivantzoff deals with the problem as to the existence of an external world. The author, M. N. Ivantzoff, begins in this fashion: 'There is a problem, which, at the first glance, seems very simple, or even wholly naive in its character, and which, nevertheless, on further attempts to resolve it, shows itself to be far from light, or we may even go further and say that presently it is discovered to be an impossible problem.' He then compares it to squaring the circle or the problem of perpetual motion. These problems, indeed, as our author admits, are susceptible of being resolved after a practical fashion, and why not this other as to the actual existence of an external world? The author next proceeds to posit the problem. The gist of it consists in this: How are we to prove the existence of an external world? The answer, it would seem, is easy. To the ordinary man, whose mind has not been 'sicklied over by the pale cast of thought,' to raise the question seems empty and vain. How can we doubt the existence of the world in which we live? As ancient historians usually began with the Creation, so naturally our author starts with the fathers of modern philosophy, Bacon and Descartes. He then comes to Kant, the father of the

Critical School. But these agree in the final enquiry as to the possibility and validity of our knowledge of objects. Then, in the second place, the outcome of our modern philosophy is *idealism* as the proper result of criticism. That is to say, the general result, of the critical investigation of our knowledge and beliefs, is that we know only our own sensations and presentations, the constituent elements of our consciousness, and not things as they exist in reality. From this point of view, the modern philosophy shows itself to be idealistic in character and in its special deductions, if not in all its various representations. This is summed up in the following statement: 'We do not know things without us; we know only the constitution of our own consciousness, the objects which appear to us are our presentations, and we must regard whatever is without us as unknown in itself and in regard to what it is in itself.' Such being the case, how am I to show that my sensations and presentations have anything corresponding to them in actual reality. Hence it is concluded the problem of the existence of the external world is for us theoretically insoluble. But the question may be further dealt with, by showing how far we may appropriate to a conclusion and to what degree of exactness. The editor, Professor Grote, strikes in here in a note and shows that the existence of the *will*, as a power in man, with its necessary postulate of action, implies an outward world as the sphere of action; unless we are to go so far in our doubt as to call in question the first position of Descartes' *cogito ergo sum*, transferred by the relation of the actor to the Will. I act, and therefore 'my acting implies a sphere of action.' But the author continues in a lengthened paper to look at one side of the argument, hardly at both sides, but mainly on the sceptical side of the question; for, as Prof. Grote, the editor, remarks in the note just referred to, that he decides the questions almost *à priori*. In the second section, into which his paper is divided, he looks at the question from the practical point of view; and he comments first of all on the fact that while Descartes set out with Universal Scepticism, on this point his scepticism was not sincere, and that this is visible from the powerful way in which he combats the common, sound sense in a philosophical, logically consequent doubt, as to the existence of the external world, and that the history of philosophy shows how seldom has been a strictly consequent scepticism, and comes finally to the conclusion, which he puts in italics, *that the existence of the world without us, is commonly received, or held as a matter of faith.* Such being the preconceived conclusion of our author, it is not necessary to follow him in his notices of the philosophies of Berkeley and Leibnitz; on this point he has to admit, that those who are the students of

physical science are opposed to him: he quotes Prof. Tait on the 'Properties of Matter,' but he strives to turn the point of this fact by showing that these natural philosophers would get on equally well with their studies, if we only leave them our mental presentations without admitting their external validity. Our author does not, however, finish his paper, and therefore we may with propriety await his last words on the subject.—To this sceptical discussion succeeds a paper on 'Fashionable Theories,' more especially as they appear in our own time, and in all the various fields of knowledge, study and endeavour, scientific, financial, political and social. He enumerates a long list of the 'Fashionable Theorists' of our day, Buchner, Moleschott, Prudhon, Buckle, Lassalle, Marx, Schopenhauer, Düring, and finally Herbert Spencer, for the last of whom he professes considerable reverence. Presently, however, we find that M. Cementkoffski, for such is the author's name, is not so sanguine as to the success of these 'Fashionable Theories' on which he has elected to write. He notices the tendency to disappointment and disillusion, noted by Turgeneff in his 'Fathers and Children,' his 'Smoke,' and finally in 'Newland.' The necessity to obtain daily bread is a great hindrance to the successful working out of these 'Fashionable Theories.' He notices the potency of 'but' in our own day, more especially amongst those who have to treat of the forward movement in regard to these theories. This 'but' in our own day is met at every step. Popular enlightenment and progress are great things, and would advance much faster but for this fatal 'but,' which is always putting in its oar. He notices that the writers of a past age, who gave themselves up almost fanatically to the interests of popular enlightenment, were not troubled as we are with the fatal interference of this negative conjunction. He notices also, in passing, the not very successful results which are reached in the Celestial Empire, where it may be said, that society, as a whole, is organised precisely towards the accomplishment of this popular enlightenment. Finally, he comes to one of his greatest favourites, our own Herbert Spencer, particularly as he has been shortened, epitomised, and his very essence extracted to his own satisfaction by Mr. Howard Collins. Here, in the theories of the day, we are at the very height of the fashion. Here, all is in 'Progress'; all is being 'evolved,' 'integrated' and 'differentiated.' Still the joy of our author over this new treasure of 'Fashionable Theories,' visibly incr ed as it is indeed, by the fact that it has had the essence ext ted, and been put into a more portable form by Mr. Hov l Coll is
and the 'pale cast of thought' falls upon t
born delight, at the thought that it l

predecessors, beginning with the 'Cogito ergo sum' of Descar
the 'absolute ego' of Fichte, etc., and is thus, it is to be fea
equally doomed, like these venerable passwords to have suc
sors. To this somewhat sceptical view of the leading 'thoug
of our day, if not of the 'things' by which the minds of men
occupied, we come to what the editor, in a note, calls the re
of a 'truly lyrical mood of exaltation,' which, from the day
Plato has never been wholly strange to philosophy, and w
its author designates 'The Secret of Creation, an Indicat
The author seeks to account for this lack of the creative in
artists of the present day. This, he holds, is owing to the
ditions of the life of the time. The author of former t
lived almost exclusively for this end, and turned the circumsta
and conditions of the society in which he lived to account.
author holds that it is different with the present generatio
writers, etc. They have scarcely tasted their first success, v
they immediately place themselves apart, thirst for glory
external success, and hold that their mission is fulfilled.
what have they done? Written a narrative or two, prod
one or two pictures, an opera or a drama! Then the author no
a greater taste for enjoyment. The artist would reap the
of his labours well nigh before he has entered the field. Fin
he holds that the decay of the creative faculty is coupled
a materialistic world-conception, and the belief that man hir
is only a higher animal, without soul, immortality, free wi
relation to God!—The general part of our journal is concl
by another paper, the present being the fourth—'On
Significance of Love,' by M. Wladimir Solovieff. He e
here upon somewhat metaphysical grounds in relation to
union of the sexes. There are some very curious things, w
are an outcome of this relation, *e.g.*, what our author na
fetichism of love, such as wearing some portion of the clotl
etc., belonging to the other sex, but mostly the male, of art
belonging to the female. Our author notices in the man
forms, which this passion takes, and the character whic
assumes, that these are not only animal and moral,—social
also that there is a third element of a higher character
spiritual, mystical or divine. There is the mystical union, w
marriage is used in Scripture to prefigure, which points tov
that union in God, which will be the highest and most pe
state of humanity. On this lofty subject our author expat
in the last part of his article, which has not, however, reacl
final conclusion.—The special part of the journal begins w
very able article by the editor, on 'Leibnitz and his School,'
is followed by other two articles, the first by M. Tchelpanof

the 'Fundamental element of Evolutional Monadology,' and the second by M. Minor, on 'Physiognomical changes in nervous and mental diseases.' This is followed by the usual reviews of books, and Bibliography.

ROOSKAHYAH MYSL—*Russian Opinion*—(June, July, and August).—These three bulky numbers contain: (1) An additional 69 pages of the correspondence between 'Alexander Ivanovich Hertzen and Natalie Alexandrovna Zakharin;' (2) chapters xxi. to lviii. of Mr. Thomas Hardy's romance, 'Tess of the D'Urbervilles,' translated by V. M. S.; (3) five pieces of 'Poetry,' by K. D. Balmont, D.S. Merezhkofski, S.G., and V. L. Valichko (two); (4) a short tale from life, entitled 'Major Bobkoff and his Orphans,' by V. I. Nemirovich-Danchenko; (5) 'Buddha the Blessed,' an Indian legend, translated from the Polish of Henry Senkovich by V. M. L.; (6) 'An International Family,' a fantastic picture by M. Anyoutin, the *nom de plume* of M. N. Remezoff; (7) a further portion of the lengthy review by M. A. A. of the 'Life and Letters of Charles Darwin;' (8) a public lecture delivered in the University of Dorpat, by J. A. Baudouin de Courtenay, entitled, 'Of (or concerning) Slavs in Italy;' (9) the completion of I. A. Goloobeff's essay on 'Taxation and National Economy;' (10) two additional instalments of P. N. Milyoukoff's essay, or rather treatise, entitled, 'Chief Current of Russian Historical Thought in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries;' (11) 'Berlin Life,' a series of observations by a Frenchman, extending over 25 pages; (12) 'Montesquieu,' a review of Ad. Frank's 'Reformateurs et Publicistes de l'Europe,' by I. K.; (13) 'French Sentiment Concerning the Tcheks,' a translation from Alfred Rambaud's contribution to the *Journal des Débats*, entitled 'Le mouvement tchèque;' (14) 'Scientific Views,' containing a lengthy paper by B. F. Brandt on 'Confederated Enterprise in the United States of North America,' an exposition of the modern Syndicate or Trust system, at present so popular with capitalists; 'A Radical Question in Anthropology,' by M. A. Menzbeer; and a paper on 'The domain of Psychiatry,' by A. N. Alelekoff; (15) 'Home Review,' which contains little of interest to strangers, the cholera scourge not being once alluded to, though already in evidence in August; (16) 'Foreign Review,' by V. A. Goltseff, which notices in a clear and concise manner the growing militarism of the great European powers; French greed in Siam; Mr. Gladstone's parliamentary business; Lord Rosebery's interference in Turkey's mismanaged Armenian affairs, and other current matters; (17) 'Outlines of Provincial Life,' two thoughtful papers, the first anonymous, the second signed I. I. Ivanyoukoff;

(18) 'History of our Society,' a review by M. A. Protopo
A. V. Nikitenka's 'Records and Diary' (Zapiski i dnevnik
1826 to 1877, in three volumes; (19) the 'Bibliographic Di
which contains notices of 107 works, the only one in E
being 'A History of Socialism,' by Thomas Kirkup;
'Sopernitsa,' a romance by Fr. Koppe, translated from the I
by M. N. R., complete; (21) 'The Religio-Social Ideal
Western Christians of the Fifth Century,' a review of
Eugene Troubetskoi's work, entitled 'Universal Contemp
(Mirosozertsanïe) of the Blessed Augustine'; (22) 'C
special organizations for the work of victualling the e
parts of Nizhegorod,' by V. G. Korolenko; (23) 'Pe
Perfection and Change in form of Society,' a review of
work by Tard, entitled 'Les transformations du Droit,' by
Obolenski; (24) a reply to the 'Oproverzhenïe,' or Refu
in our last number, signed 'A Provincial Observer'; (2
Great Sinner,' the first moiety of a story by D. N. Mamin-Sib
(26) 'Grandfather Timothy,' a complete tale by M. V. P
goroff; (27) 'A Polish Family,' the commencement of a ro
by Henry Senkevich, translated from the Polish by V. M
(28) 'National Courts in Western Russia,' an historical o
first moiety, by A. Y. Efimenko; (29) 'A Glance at the R
of Russia to Europe,' by Count L. A. Kamarofski;' (30)
Historical Method in Biology,' by K. A. Timiryahzeff; (31
Canicula,' or summer vacation days of M. N. Remezoff, en
ing visits to Odessa, Constantinople, Piræus, Athens, Alexa
Cairo, and the Pyramids; (32) 'The Women of the U
States,' first moiety of a review of C. de Variguy's wo
French of the same title, by V. M. R.; (33) another first i
of review, of the German edition by Alfred Dove of the '
biography of L. von Ranke,' by E. N. Shchepkin; and (3
important historical and financial paper by V. V. Biryouk
entitled, 'The Imperial Bank.'

Note.—The following explanation of a Polish word, not
in Russia proper, was sent too late for insertion in on
number. It has reference to item 28, page 214—'Gminna
division of a government larger than the English Hundre
not so important as a County. The title, 'V'Gminnom So
might thus have been indifferently, though in neither cas
rectly, styled, 'A Hundred Court,' or 'A County Court.'

ITALY.

La Nuova Antologia (July 1st).—Professor Gia
Barzellotti continues his notice of 'Hippolyte Adolphe T

dwelling more especially on his mental characteristics, and pointing out that a system of philosophy is not to be looked for in his works, but that he was rather bent on showing the way to follow in working out ideas.—Raffaele De Cesare gives us a biographical sketch of 'Silvio Spaventa,' the lately-deceased patriot and companion of Carlo Poerio, with whom he undertook the journey to England in 1859, when they met with such an enthusiastic reception in London. It is an interesting account of these more stirring events of Spaventa's life, as well as of the part he took in public life after his dream of a united Italy had been realized.—'Ugo and Parisina, History and Legend according to Recent Documents,' continued by Angelo Solestin, contains interesting glimpses of domestic details, costume and household expenses at the Court of Ferrara in the sixteenth century. The author points out how far the real tragedy associated with the name of Ugo differs from Byron's poetical version of it.—The prolific novelist, Anton Giulio Barrili continues his 'Drama of St. George,' and Arturo Galanti writes of the Ticinese Revolution of 1890-93.—Pompeo Molmenti, the well known Venetian historian, proceeds with the 'Bands and Banditti of the Venetian Republic,' and Guiseppe Sergi reviews a work on 'Woman as a Criminal,' in which he advocates the view that :—

> 'Woman is the lesser man, and all thy passions matched with mine
> Are as moonlight unto sunlight, and as water unto wine.'

by declaring woman as incapable of the lowest depths of crime as she is of the sublimest heights of virtue.—(July 16th).—Enrico Panzacchi has an interesting article, 'For Art in Italy,' lamenting the neglect of the study of the history of art in modern Italy. He tells us how he was led to realize its scantiness by a post-card from a German professor, requesting information respecting writers on this subject of the present century. This post-card, although he kept it before his eyes for a length of time, he had found impossible to answer, there being, according to him, no historian of art at the present day in Italy—the cradle of modern art.—Alessandro Chiapelli treats of 'The Fragments just Discovered of a Gospel and Apocalypse of St. Peter,' a codex found in the excavation of some Christian tombs at Akhim in Upper Egypt, together with one purporting to be the Apocalypse of Enoch. The so-called Gospel of St. Peter differs from those of the four evangelists chiefly by a certain melodramatic amplification of the narrative.—Giovanni Boglietti, writing on 'Ireland and Her Ancient Parliament,' in anticipation of the result of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill, takes occasion to review the origin and grounds of the long Anglo-Irish conflict.—Anton Barrili and Pompeo Molmenti continue respectively the romance and his-

torical Venetian study spoken of in last number, and G: B. has a short article on 'The Yemen, and Last Arab Insurrec while the 'Denunciation of the Latin League and the Mon Situation' are the subjects of a clear and forcible stateme Luigi Luzzati.

La Nuova Antologia (August 15).—Platonism ir poetry of Lorenzo de' Medici, by Nicola Scalani, gives ex in modernized Italian of Lorenzo's poems, with a critical an of their contents and character.—Signor Adolfo Venturi i 'Royal Palaces of Art' has a graphic notice of the prin paintings in the picture-gallery of the Pallazo Pitti, cla according to the different schools, and accompanying the de tion with art criticism and various historical notes which serve to elucidate the subject or origin of each work in any The article is written in an interesting style, and is val in respect to the information it contains.—'The Mon Situation,' by Maggiorino Ferraris, shows the growth and c of the present serious financial difficulties of Italy, and especially to the late investigations regarding the Bank of I and the scarcity of metallic currency.—Anton Barrili conti his romance, and Luigi Chiaia publishes some dispatches hit unedited of General Cialdini, with reference to the Tunis of 1878. The strained relations between France and Italy w again threaten serious consequences, give a special intere these documents at the present moment.—An anonymous w contributes a description of the World's Fair at Chi believing it to have suffered in some measure from the unfrie criticism instigated and led by the New York press. Si Bianco describes the discovery and position of a new star.

La Nuova Antologia (September 1st).—'The Recor Guido del Duca,' by Francesco Torraco, is one of the coun commentaries of some passing allusion by Dante, and refers passage in the second canto of the 'Purgatory.' It is in fa chapter from the history of Romagna in the thirteenth cen —Carlo Ferraris gives an interesting summary of statis studies on the 'Census of Professions' arising from the abandon of the proposed Census of the Kingdom of Italy in 189 account of the expense it would entail. The author aim showing the utility and desirableness of such a census, indeed remembering all the important significance of statisti parliamentary blue-books it is difficult to realize how governm by Parliament can be carried on without them, even where financial state of the country demands economy, as undoubt is the case with Italy at present.—The article on the 'Platon

in Lorenzo de' Medici's Poetry ' has a further instalment in this number, without however gaining in interest for the general reader. —By way of lighter reading, Orazio Grande gives us a novelette, 'Il poeta,' which opens as an idyl, and closes as a tragedy. —Giovanni Iforza has a biographical sketch of Charles Louis, the last duke of Lucca, and Alessandra Chiappelli continues his account of the newly discovered Apocalypse of St. Peter. The work as quoted shows a mixture of Judaic and Hellenic influences, the former being most manifest in the discourse of Christ, while the descriptions of paradise and the infernal regions with which it closes, while recalling the paintings of Fra Angelico on the one hand, and the Dantesque imagery on the other, have a distinctly Pagan character. The political summary of this number has an unwonted nnmber of exciting events to record with reference to the riots in the principal Italian cities, especially Naples, during the latter half of the August of this year.

La Rassegna Nazionale (July 1st).—'Fra Geremia da Udine and his Relations with the Court of the Grand Duke of Francesco de Medici,' by Lorenzo Grottanelli, is an interminable chapter of mediæval history, running through various numbers of the review, such as the Italian historiographers delight in, for the noble art of condensation has yet to be studied by them, and their writings are often weighty more by quantity than quality.— A. Moglia has an article on the 'Italian Episcopacy Accused of Liberalism,' truly a strange charge to our ears, which it seems was brought forward in an article in the *Osservatore Cattolica*, last May, and which Signor Moglia endeavours eagerly to refute. —G. Salvadori, on 'Stoicism and Christianity,' is a review of a work on the same subject by Salvatore Talamo.—There is a continuation of the translation of 'The Last of the Cavaliers,' and, since financial crises and monetary questions are the order of the day in Italy, we have a treatise on the 'Credito Fondiario and Crises of Immoveable Property.'—(July 16th).—In this number there is a continuation of the articles by Signor Grottanelli already mentioned. One on the 'Soudan and the Mahdi,' by Guiseppe Grabinsky, and 'The Last of the Cavaliers.'—In the ecclesiastical province we have 'The Re-adjustment of Ecclesiastical Property and the Religious Question,' by Andrea Armamri, and as a cheerful piece of sensation after so much heavy matter, 'Crito' discourses on the guillotine during the French Revolution, deciding finally that the instrument by which death is legally inflicted is a secondary consideration, so long as the legal decorum is preserved and the act is not allowed to degenerate into a public spectacle.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (August 16th).—This number a further continuation of Grottanelli's somewhat discu article, and also of the 'Last of the Cavaliers.'—Ugo Ojetti an article on the 'Origin of the Constitution of the Un States of America.'—Signor Cereti on 'Arts and Absurd The in matters ecclesiastical, and an anonymous writer relate 'Roman Charity' in the times of the Empire.—Luigi V publishes a lecture held in a Girls' College at Milan, on 'Reli and Woman,' and 'Rome, the Government and the Nati Exhibition' closes the number.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONAL (September 1st).—The first ar in this number is an article on Peré Lacordaire, with sp reference to the part he took in political life.—Giovanni I writes on 'The Judicial Declaration of the rights of the fa towards illegitimate children,' deprecating a too close adopti French laws on the subject.—Angelo Scalabrun continue 'Travels on the Rio della Plata' from a former number, Signor Montedoro gives an account of the 'Congresso della Nazionale in Riva de Trento.'—Raffaelo Ricci pleads for ' Catholic Freedom of Voting at Elections,' and the Archbi Tagliaferri treats the religious problem of our day at length, placing Christianity as the only true safeguar civilzation and progress against the growing destructive f of atheism and socialism.—L. M. Billia has an articl 'Rosmini and the election of pastors of the Church,' be which is an exhaustive review of the 'Odyssey of Woman Tullo Massarano,' from the pen of Raffaelo Barbiera. work, which is enriched by original illustrations by the au seems to be a kind of apotheosis of woman through all stag history, and principal events in which she has taken part. is however displayed more as a passive victim than as a free-a in her own fate.

RASSEGNA DE SCIENZE SOCIALI E POLITICHE (September —The editor opens this number with a short article on Ai Mortes, that district in the south of France which has att such a fatal celebrity for Italy, and the same subject, as w be expected, occupies a great part of the political chronicle o number.—Signor G. Gorrini writes to advocate the foundati 'A Woman's College in Italy,' first brought forward by th minister, Ruggiero Bonghi, who has quoted the examp England in the higher education of women. Signor G passes in review what has been done in this direction in countries of Europe, and in North and South America awards the palm to England.—Albino Nagy treats some

lengthily of 'The New Mysticism,' basing his remarks on a pessimistic work by Max Nordan, who argues a gradual extinction of the human race, in consequence of the increased nervous strain in the feverish struggle for existence, and the resulting degeneration in physical strength. The mental consequence being a philosophical tendency in this 'end of a century' towards mysticism, Signor Nagy takes upon himself to investigate and explain this more fully.

ARCHIVIO STORICO ITALIANO (No. 11, 1893).—Cornelio Desimoni writes on 'A map of the Holy land in the 14th Century,' preserved in the state archives of Florence.—G. Papaleono on 'Justice at Trento under the episcopacy of John IV., with the original documents appended.'—Cesare Paoli and Eugenio Casaura have collected notices from some contemporary letters on Cosimo II. de' Medici, and publish them at great length as material for the historian of that epoch.—Demetrius Marzio has an account of 'The Reform of the Calendar by the fifth Council of the Lateran,' giving a fac-simile of the Papal decree.

GIORNALE STORICO DELLA LETTERATURA ITALIANA (No. 41).—'Luigi Pulci, a biographical study,' by Guglielmo Volpi, with extracts from his poetry.—Conclusion of an article on 'Niccoli da Correggio,' by Luzio Renier.—'The Epopee of Savoy at the Court of Charles Emanuele I.'—'Unpublished Letters of Pietro Giordani.'—'New Sources of the Adone,' by E. Sicardi.—'Riscontri Orientali,' by Italo Pizzi.

FRANCE.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 3, 1893).—M. A. Barth continues here his 'Bulletin des Religions de l'Inde,' or critical notices of the various important works that have recently appeared treating of, or dealing with, any of the problems connected with the ancient religious literature, or religious life of India. The list of works that pass under review is a somewhat formidable one, but M. Barth has something to say of each, so as to guide inquirers, and especially students, in their selection of books likely to be helpful to them.—M. C. de Harlez gives a concise description of the contents of a work not much known by European scholars, but which is of great repute among the Taoists of China. Its Chinese title is *Gan-shih-Tang*, which M. de Harlez translates as *La Lampe de la salle obscure.* It is a treatise, or rather a series of treatises on moral subjects, from various pens, some in prose, some in verse. M. de Harlez selects four of them, and gives a translation of them, to enable us to appreciate their worth, and the moral teaching of Taoism.—M.

F. Picavet furnishes a very interesting study, under the title, 'Les rapports de la religion, et de la philosophie en Grèce.' His sub-title will indicate the special point to which he here devotes attention,—'Epicure fondateur d'une religion nouvelle.' The first part of his article is explanatory of the inter-relation between religion and the sciences and arts of progressive civilization. Each of the latter has been largely influenced by the former, and the former has in turn undergone modifications at their hands. In Greece this is seen as elsewhere; and M. Picavet runs rapidly over the list of the more prominent thinkers prior to Epicurus, who sought to harmonize their philosophic thought and their religious beliefs, or accommodate the latter to the results of the former. But Epicurus reversed that process. M. Picavet posits for consideration these two questions. Had Epicurus a theory as to the gods—a theology? Was this theory more religious than philosophic? The first point might be affirmed from the fact that his followers were all preoccupied with theological questions, but can be proved from his letters preserved to us, which summarize his teaching, and from his forty-four maxims into which he condensed it for practical purposes. In these Epicurus affirms that the gods exist, and manifest themselves to us. He tells us their nature, and treats of their relations with the world and with men; finally, he sets forth our duties towards the gods. Our author here sets himself to establish these points from the extant texts of Epicurus, and to answer the objections sometimes raised to this view of his teaching. M. Picavet's exposition and defence are extremely interesting, and deserve consideration on the part of those who share the current ideas as to the negative character of Epicurus' theology. The second point is also well brought out, and the fact is accounted for that so much hostility has been shown toward Epicurus and his school. —M. P. Regnaud breaks a lance with M. Barth in defence of his views on the nature of the Vedic prayers, which were the subject of some severe strictures in that writer's 'Bulletin des Religions de l'Inde,' in the preceding number of this *Revue*.— Book reviews, and the 'Chronique' for the two months follow; but we miss two important and useful sections that have now no place in these pages, the 'Depouillement des periodiques,' and the 'Bibliographie.' They were of great value to the student of religions in this busy age, and gave him many a clue to articles and works he would not otherwise likely know of.

Revue de l'Histoire des Religions (No 4, 1898.)—M. I. Goldziher furnishes a short paper on the import of the word *sakina* in the Koran, and its derivation. It has been generally regarded by Arabic scholars as derived from the verb ***sakana***,

and as always denoting a subjective state or condition of the soul, that of tranquil restfulness. But M. Goldziher disputes this. He quotes several passages from the Koran where the word clearly denotes something objective, some manifestation of the deity visible to the eye. He is therefore inclined to regard it as a word borrowed from the Jews,—the 'shechinah' of later Judaism, the word which was employed by the post-biblical writers to denote 'the glory of the Lord,' which was said to have shone over the ark. From this usage of the word M. Goldziher shows how the other meaning might easily have come to be attached to it.—M. Jules Deramey takes the next place with an article on 'Les martyrs de Nedjran au pays des Homérites,' a subject which M. J. Halévy very minutely discussed some months ago in the *Revue des Etudes Juives*. He gave good reasons for our holding in grave suspicion the documents in which the details of that persecution have come down to us. M. Deramey gives here an elaborate summary of those documentary testimonies, and discusses the causes that are said to have led to King Dhou-Nouwas instituting that persecution.—The first part of an article, which is an exceedingly interesting one, is furnished by Heer L. Knappert, a Dutch scholar. It is translated for the reader of this *Revue* from the Dutch by the redactor, M. Jean Reville. It made its appearance last year in the pages of the Dutch quarterly—the *Bibliotheek van modern theologie en letterkunde*, a periodical which unfortunately has since ceased to appear. The article is given here under the title 'De l'état actuel des études sur la mythologie germanique.' In Dr. Rovers' quarterly it was simply titled 'Germaansche Mythologie.' Dr. Knappert's is an original study, though he takes as a kind of groundwork for it two recent publications on the same subject, viz., E. H. Meyer's volume *Germanische Mythologie*, the first of a series of *Lehrbücher der Germanischen Philologie*, and E. Mogk's article in Dr. Hermann Paul's *Grundrisz der Germanischen Philologie* (Vol. I., pp. 982-1138). Both these writers treat their subject as belonging to the department of Philology, while Dr. Knappert regards it as coming under that of Hierography, a subsection of Theology. This is however rather a difference of names, as the Germans include under Philology now-a-days 'l'ensemble de la culture humaine.' Both writers deal with the popular beliefs of the ancient Germanic peoples in deities, genii, spirits of all kinds, and of the modes of worshipping them, or of appeasing them and winning their good will. Heer Knappert in the part of his article translated here passes under review the principal conclusions which the scientific study of German mythology has led scholars to arive at.—M. G. Dumoutier describes a peculiar reli-

gious festival which he witnessed in a village in the Tonq province of Annan, the village Phu-Dong. It is in commem tion of a victory gained there by the ancestors of the people c the Chinese, four hundred years before our era, and is celebra with great enthusiasm still in the temple of the village. Dumoutier endeavours to separate the fact commemorated fi the legendary form in which it is there narrated, and then scribes in detail the various processions and ceremonies of festival as he observed them. The ancient battle and the ev following upon it are represented in *tableaux vivants*, and v artistically executed.—The book reviews include elaborate not of Mr. George Laurence Gomme's 'Ethnology in Folk L and F. B. Jevons' 'Plutarch's Roman Questions,'—the rep issued last year by D. Nutt, in the series, *Bibliothequ Carabas*.

Revue des Religions (No. 4, 1893).—Dreams play a important *rôle* in the life of all the Chinese, be they domic at home or in other lands. They have always, so far bac Chinese literature carries us, played the same part, and grossed a vast amount of attention. M. C. de Harlez, unde title, 'Miscellanées Chinois,' gives the first place to this sub He instances from the literature of China a long series of pr of the faith always placed in dreams, and of the specula as to their source in which the sages there have from tin time indulged. The interpretation of dreams has bee duced to a science, and certain officials qualify themselve the proper performance of the task. Dreams are the wo supernatural agents, but these work according to certain ditions of the body, as a general rule. If a person, *e.g.*, go sleep hungry his dreams will take one form, and if h eaten too much they will take another. If he is slightly i posed or is very ill, if he sleeps on his back or with his down, and so on, the character of his dreams change, a pleasant or the reverse. It is chiefly, however, with dr as indicating coming events that our author deals. The s who cause them have an admonitory purpose in view, bu purpose is not always very clearly manifested in the for dreams take. It is almost invariably enigmatically indic and so it requires a prolonged study and discipline to q a person to read their purpose aright. M. de Harlez c selection of various kinds, and of the interpretations giv them. Virgin births, of which there have been plenty i Celestial Empire, have always been preceded by some wo ful apparitions, and state appointments are frequently d mined by the King's midnight visions. It is altoget

curious chapter which M. de Harlez contributes in this section of his paper. The next section treats of the Chinese belief in the two spirits that possess every one's body, the *Huan* and the *Pe*, and the part they respectively play in the daily life of the individual. Chinese philosophers have been far from unanimous in their opinions as to either point, and M. de Harlez touches on these diversities of view.—M. the Abbé Sauveplane continues his papers on the Babylonian Pantheon as revealed in the Istubar or Gilgames Legend; and the third instalment of the article on Buddhism follows it. Their details are too numerous for a summary, and we can only therefore call attention to them.

REVUE DES ÉTUDES JUIVES (Nos. 1 and 2, 1893).—The issue of the second number so soon after the first regains for the *Revue* the ground it lost recently after the death of its late editor. Both numbers are very rich and varied in their contents. The first is prefaced by a lecture which was delivered before the Société des Etudes Juives in March last on 'Types Juifs,' by Dr. Victor Jacques, the Secretary of the Anthropological Society at Brussels. Jews are popularly supposed to be everywhere very much alike, to have the same distinctive swarthiness of skin and peculiar cast of nose, etc. But there are fair Jews as well as dark ones, black Jews as well as white, and their features vary as much as their colour does. Dr. Jacques describes and discusses these types in a very interesting manner, and supports his views by elaborate tables of statistics drawn from all countries.—M. G. Marmier, in 'Recherches géographiques sur la Palestine,' endeavours to define the geographical limits of the Israelite possessions in Palestine, and to determine the locality of various places and districts that have hitherto been matters of dispute, but which are mentioned in the Old Testament.—M. Theodore Reinach, under the title, 'Quid Judaeo cum Verre?' discusses Plutarch's paragraph, in his life of Cicero, in which he attributes the query to Cicero. M. Reinach shows very conclusively that what is there stated as to Verres being of Jewish extraction and his having been once a slave, though then a freeman, is utterly erroneous, and that therefore Cicero was innocent of the pun attributed to him.—M. Mayer Lambert has a short paper, which will be interesting to Hebraists. It is on the usage of the *vav conversive* in Semitic tongues or dialects, and its occurrence in the text of the Bible.—M. W. Bacher contributes a study in Talmudic lexicography *à propos* of the word *mattarah*, which occurs in Lam. iii. 12; 1 Sam. xx. 20; and Job. xvi. 2.—M. Israel Lévi treats of the Talmudic views given

expression to chiefly in Berakhot 18*a* 19*a* as to whether t
dead have knowledge of what goes on on earth. He sho
that Augustine entertained very similar views.—M. A. Epst
takes up the defence of the priority in age and super
authority of the *Yalkout Schimeoni* over that of the *Yalk*
Ha-Makhiri as against M. Gaster, who has recently advocat
the claims of the latter in the pages of this *Revue*. The otl
articles in this number are 'La familie de Yehiel de Pise,'
M. D. Kaufmann; Les juifs de l' empire ottoman au XI
siecle,' by M. Franco; 'Notes complémentaires sur le rej
sabbatique des ámes damnées,' by M. I. Levi; 'Pinamou
de Karil,' by M. Hartwig Derenbourg.—In the second num
we have a somewhat lengthy series of short papers. The f
is on 'The title of the first book of the Maccabees.' Acco
ing to Eusebius (Eccl. Hist. vi. 25,) it was entitled 'Sarb
Sarbaneel,' and M. Sachs sets himself here to determine
exact meaning of these terms. He shows that the first of
two is the Aramaic equivalent of the Hebrew sherbet, scep
tribe, family, genealogy, while the latter was the origi
name of the priestly family to which Mattathias and his hei
sons belonged. The book was originally written to show t
they were of pure priestly descent, and therefore it was put
first under the rubric 'Sarabel Sarbaneel,' 'the genealogy
Sarbaneel.' The priestly families took their names from
towns, villages, or districts where they lived. This place
called in 1 Mac. xiv. 28, 'Sarramel,' but M. Sachs shows h
the letters of the latter gave place to those of the word S
baneel.—M. T. Reinach gives an inscription, from the nei
bourhood of Constantinople, called Arnaut Keui. It i
funerary inscription, and he explains it and comments upor
—M. Neumann furnishes an article on 'The influence of Ra
and other Jewish commentators on the "Postillæ Perpetu
of Nicolas de Lyre.'—M. Porges continues his account of
Hebrew narratives—the three principal ones, at least, p
lished by the Historical Commission in regard to the Jew
Germany—regarding the persecution of the Jews during
first Crusade.—M. Israël Lévi describes the condition of
Jews in Candia, or Crete, from 1380 to 1485, as revealed i
recent number of the *Bibliotheque des Ecoles françaises d' Ath*
et de Rome, No. 61.—M. A. Epstein gives a letter of Abrah
ha-Yakhini, a learned preacher of Constantinople in 1674
Nathan Guzati, accompanying it with a few historical no
—M. Kaufmann concludes his paper on 'La familie de Ye
de Pise.'—Senior Cardozo de Béthencourt continues his art
on 'Le tréser des Juifs sephardim.'—M. A. Lévy brings
'Notes on the history of the Jews in Saxony,' to a close.

other article is, 'Tranquillo vita corcos, bienfaiteur de la communanté de Carpentras,' by M. D. Kaufmann. Shorter notes follow on various subjects; and a lecture, delivered before the Society by M. M. Bloch, on 'L'oeuvre scolaire des juifs français depuis 1789,' concludes the number.

REVUE CELTIQUE (Juillet, 1893).—The first place in this interesting number is given to a short but instructive article by M. E. Ernault, entitled 'Deux Bardes bretons.' The couple of bards dealt with are Riwal and Guinglaff, the latter of whom was accounted a prophet. Both of them have been supposed, on the authority of certain dictionaries, to belong to as early a period as the third century. Misled by these authorities, M. de Villemarquè has assigned to them a similar period. The aim of M. Ernault here is to show that Riwal in reality belongs to as late a period as the sixteenth century, and that Guinglaff cannot be placed earlier than the 15th.—Dr. Whitely Stokes contributes a list of the Old Irish glosses found in the abridgments of Philargyrus' Scholia on the Bucolics, from the MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, the glosses in the Florence MS. having been already published by Kuhn. A commentary is added.—A brief paper by the Abbé L. Duchesne contains an account of St. Patern, the first bishop of Vannes, and of the principal documents on which his life is based. There were two saints of the name Patern, who are often confounded. The other was long venerated at Lan Badarn Vaur, near Aberystwyth, in Wales.—'Two Tales about Finn,' is from Dr. Kuno Meyer. The tales are from the Stowe MS.—The editor, M. D'Arbois de Jubainville, discusses the word 'Teutates,' and maintains that Teutates, for Teutatis, is a barbarism, but a barbarism too solidly rooted in the French language to be easily expelled from it.—M. Max Nettlau continues his paper on 'Tain bó Cuuiluge,' and M. Ernault his 'Breton Studies,'—The 'Melanges' contains several interesting notes.—The first place in the 'Bibliographie' is given to a careful review of M. Loth's, 'Les mots latins dans les langues brittoniques.'—This is followed by an equally careful notice of Standish H. O'Grady's 'Silvia Gadelica,' from the pen of Kuno Meyer, who has a good deal of fault to find with the work reviewed.—The 'Chronique' is as usual full of interesting news.—The 'Periodiques' is increasing in value.

REVUE SÉMITIQUE D'EPIGRAPHIE ET D'HISTOIRE ANCIENNE. (No. 3, 1893).—M. J. Halévy continues and concludes here under the usual rubric, 'Recherches Bibliques,' his interesting defence of the unity of the text of Genesis 1. iii. It may be remembered that in the first [illegible]ion of his study, which was noticed

in our last issue, he subjected the text to a very minute cri
examination, and then proceeded to compare it with the te
the Assyrian Creation-Tablets. He completes this compa
here, and then goes on to deal with the questions as to the
of composition of those narratives, and the writer's purpo
object in penning them. He regards them as belonging t
document generally known as the J. document. He first stat
brief the conclusions he has come to, and which he has often
occasion to make good in the course of these 'Recherches I
ques,' as to the date of both J. and E., and their amalgamation
one work. The data furnished by these narratives, when p
under the light of the recent discoveries in Babylonia
Assyria, all go to confirm the correctness of these conclu
The Genesis text, according to M. Halévy, is a reduced
much altered version of the Assyrian Creation Myth, alter
accordance with the developing monotheistic conceptions o
writer, and to serve the purposes of religious edification.
idea that this was done by an Israelite priest during the capt
and to further the observance of the Sabbath, he sets asi
simply preposterous, and gives sound reasons for so doing.
the light of the revelations of the Tel-el-Amarna Tablets
the inscriptions found at Zindjirli, as to the use of the cunei
writing in official and international communications, and i
light of the facts now known as to the extent of the Assy
dominion and power from the eleventh to the ninth centur
Western Asia, there can be no hesitation, he thinks, in s
how easily Israelite scribes could then become acquainted
the Assyrian Myth. And, as the other data in the J. docu
point to the reign of Solomon for its composition, it is safe
gard that as its true date. As to the purpose of the write
Halévy says, that just as the aim of the Assyrian Myth w
glorify Marduk above the other gods, so the aim of the cr
narratives in Genesis was the glorification of Jahve abov
other *Elohim*. Its object was to strengthen the hands of
who were opposing idolatry, and to further the supremacy
exclusive supremacy of Jahve.—M. Halévy gives us also h
further instalment of the Tel-el-Amarna correspondence, g
transcriptions of the text and then translations of them.
letters here given are those of Rib-Adda. He continues al
examination and exposition of the inscriptions recently disco
at Zindjirli, elucidating the text by a series of valuable note
comments. He furnishes translations of these also, as w
careful copies of the texts themselves. In a second secti
discusses the peculiarities of the Hittite or Hetean langu
and the views of certain writers on them.—M. C. Huart

an interesting account of the origin and authorship of the Arabic Ode of Ochkonwan, and translates it. His paper is not here concluded.—M. E. Drouin furnishes four sketches of figures and inscriptions from tombs which are described as Palmyrénnes, though the exact spot where the tombs were found is not indicated. He describes them, and gives a transcription and translation of the inscriptions.—M. H. Pognon, French Consul at Bagdad, gives an inscription found in Babylon some years ago on a brick. It is in Aramaic characters, and is in the possession of M. Schoendoerffer.—M. J. Perrachin continues his 'Notes Pour l'Histoire d'Ethiopie;' and M. J. Halévy his 'Notes Sumériennes.'

Revue des Deux Mondes (August, September).—There is a tide in the affairs of magazines as of men, and we scarcely remember seeing that of the publication now before us at so low an ebb, in point of general interest, as it is in these numbers. After the penultimate instalment of the serial novel, 'La Tourmente,' by Paul Margueritte, we find a continuation of the series of sketches which M. Bazin is devoting to 'The Italians of To-Day.' This is followed by an article in which a writer whose name we do not remember having ever seen in the table of contents—M. J. Delom de Mézerac—sketches the history of the French bar during the twenty years—from 1790 to 1810—when it was thrown open to all and sundry, and points a moral for the benefit of those who have lately raised a cry against what they call the unjust monopoly of the legal profession.—In 'La Spéculation et la Banque,' M. Lévy studies speculation in its legitimate effects and in its abuses, and also shows what a bank is, defining its function, and showing that it may, and sometimes should keep aloof from speculation. If to this we add M. Antoine de Saporta's paper on 'The viticultural congress at Montpellier,' we shall have the contents of the first decidedly heavy number. —In the mid-monthly part, the most readable thing is a sketch, illustrative of an election campaign in England. For the rest, we find an instalment of the series of sketches of the province of 'Franche-Comté,' a paper on the exhibition of portraits of French writers and journalists of the century, a treatise, or rather a section of one, on funded property from Philippe-Auguste to Napoleon, and an article on the Arcachon basin. This also makes up a fairly tough morsel for the general reader.—Coming to the month of September, we have a further instalment of 'Les Italiens d'aujourd'hui,' the southern provinces being those now dealt with. A descriptive sketch of the Bermudas and the Bahama islands—apparently the beginning of a series to be devoted to 'le monde antilien,' is the next item, and one of the

most readable.—The remarkable career of Lawrence Oliphan recorded by M. P. Mille in an essay based on works familia most English readers.—After this we have what is really teresting in a way—a sketch of Berlin on its dark si and, so to speak, from the police point of view. Though instructive, it is not an edifying paper.—Finally, a valua literary article is contributed by M. Brunetière, whose subjec 'The Fabliau of the Middle-Ages,' and who deals rather cavali with this greatly over-praised branch of French poetry.—In last of the four numbers before us, a marked improvement noticeable. The fragment of 'The Memoirs of Pasquier,' certainly heavy enough reading; but immediately after it th is an excellent article on 'The Zend-Avesta.'—A little m technical, though perfectly within the reach of the ordin reader, is the most erudite and more instructive paper which Berthelot devotes to a sketch of the progress of chemi amongst the ancients, and in the middle ages.—A slash review of Herr Brandes' history of the literature of the 1 century is also excellent reading—for all but Herr Brande Three historical sketches, to which M. Gebhart gives the gen name, 'Autour d'une Tiare,' are good, but rather puzzli whilst the last contribution we have to notice, 'Les Rev Anglaises,' is absolutely insignificant.

GREECE.

ATHENA (Vol. V., Pt. 2.) Contains the second part of G. Hatzidaki's paper on 'The Language Question in Greece,' former part of which appeared in the second volume. A c siderable portion of the article is occupied by a translation o Swedish paper on a kindred subject by Noreen. The wr takes up a position between the strict literary and colloq parties, and considers that, as the first purpose of any langu is to express and convey our ideas in the clearest way, we sho be guided by utility rather than sentiment. The written l guage, such as it is, has proved insufficient for more tha limited class of purposes. But, on the other hand, he utter warning against thinking that the language is enriched or proved, the farther one departs from the written language favour of any colloquialism that may come to hand.—A note the etymology of Μορέας by the same writer.—An elaborate pa on the Metaphors of Aristophanes as compared with those of tragedians, by William Pecz.—An account of the celebrations the occasion of the k. Kontos completing the 25th year of his p fessoriate in the National University.—(Vol. V., Pt. 3.) Conta

an inaugural address by Emmanuel Zolotas on 'New Testament Interpretation,' which he thinks should be more attended to by Hellenic theologians.—D. Stauropoulos contributes a first instalment of 'Inscriptions from Eretria.'—There are also critical papers on 'The Mimes of Herondas,' 'Aristotle's Politics,' and the new fragments of Euripide's 'Antiope.'

JOURNAL OF THE HISTORICAL AND ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF GREECE (Vol. IV., Pt. 14, July 1893).—The Archimandrite Cyril Athanasiades gives us the lives of three Patriarchs of Jerusalem, Païsios († 1661), Parthenios, who occupied the throne from 1737 to 1766, and Ephraim, who succeeded him on his resignation, and died in 1771. All three seem to have been largely occupied in resisting Armenian and Latin aggressions on the Holy Places in Jerusalem.—The k. Markopolis prints four letters and proclamations relating to the Austrian occupation of Naxos in 1826.—The Metropolitan of Belgrade contributes a pastoral letter of Gregory V. of Constantinople; and two very interesting lists of MSS. etc., hidden for safety during raids. The MSS. are entirely Church books. In one list, mention is made of a 'copy of the Gospels from Chrysostom's own hand without points.' In a footnote we are told that in the Church of the Annunciation in Belgrade, a Gospel is shown to the people on S. John Chrysostom's day, as his autograph. It belongs however to the eighth or ninth century. But in S. George, in the same city, there is an MS. written in silver, containing SS. Matthew and Mark, on one leaf of which a note is written in a hand somewhat later than that of the text. The note says that the MS. was written by Chrysostom when he was a deacon. The other two Gospels, it says, were taken away by the owner, for no other reason than his admiration and regard of the saint, and they were destroyed at a later date by the Franks. The MS. was originally without breathings or accents. A page is reproduced in *fac-simile*.—The k. Papandreas gives a sketch of the history of The School in Sopotos, which was so famous before the Revolution.—The k. Skordeles, gives an account of a game played in the neighbourhood of Philippopolis, which is evidently based upon memories of Turkish invasions. It is called 'I am a Turk; I break the bond' (*i.e.* of marriage).—The same writer prints chronological notes written inside some old books in the library of the Greek School in Philippopolis.—John Schmitt publishes a 'Dream of love,' by Marino Faliero, together with remarks on the identity of the author, and the ideas and language of the poem. According to popular Greek belief, every one's fate is recorded in the Boo of Fate. Amongst other things one future partner's life i[redacted] a poet is visited by

the Queen of Love and Cupid, who wounds him with his a
He sees his beloved, but after a time the vision disappears
he wakes to find himself alone.—The k. Ant. Mompher
prints the contents of a Nomokanon belonging to the thirte
century. This copy is said to be the oldest extant.—The
Bikelas publishes a letter of the French Phil-hellene Gu
Eichtal, dealing with Greek politics in 1834.—A. S. Diaman
sends a swing-song from Kastellorhizia.—Sp. P. Lambros
short account of the 'Monastery of Vylize,' in the same n
bourhood.

SWITZERLAND.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE UNIVERSALLE ET REVUE SUISSE (July, Au
September).—We have already called attention to the
which M. Aug. Glardon devotes to Rudyard Kipling. I
first instalment, the writer endeavoured to determine the pe
nature of Kipling's talent, and the place to which he is en
in English literature. Here he enters into a more particula
amination of his works, which he summarizes, and of whic
translates some of the most striking passages. The whole
is appreciative but eminently fair, and, on its own literar
critical merits, most enjoyable throughout.—The econo
situation of Europe is considered, in a weighty article, b
Burckhardt, who, on the whole, takes the optimistic vie
things, and is of opinion that, considering at their worst,
is a marked improvement in the condition of the lower class
'En Patagonie,' which runs through the whole quarter, is a
readable and interesting account of a visit paid by Dr. Ms
to that little known tract extending from the Andes t
Atlantic, and from the Rio Colorado to the Straits of Mag
—Another contribution to which we would call particular a
tion, is that entitled 'Les travaux des Femmes.' In it the w
Mlle. Berthe Vadier, sketches the history of fancy work fro
remotest times. How far she comes down, we cannot yet s
her interesting essay is not yet concluded.—In the second
ber we again meet M. Glardon, who, continuing his study o
English novelists, devotes an excellent study, which goes ov
the September part, to the works of Hall Caine. Here, to
is in complete touch with his subject, to which he does ju
without closing his eyes to the defects of either the 'Bond
or the 'Scapegoat.'—Another literary article of the best qu
is that which M. Philippe Monier devotes to the domestic p
of Italy. 'A Bord d'un Cuirassé,' scarcely requires any exp
tion. It is a popular description of an iron-clad, and is fou

upon Admiral von Werner's book, 'Die Kampfmittel zur See.'—The September part contains only one contribution, apart from light literature and 'chroniques,' which has not already been mentioned, and that is the beginning of an essay on the hygiene of food and lodging.

SPAIN.

LA ESPAÑA MODERNA, *Revista Ibero-Americana* (July, 1893).—César Lombroso has a most interesting article on 'Criminal Anthropology,' in which he discusses the question as to whether the science has been carried further as a science or in literature, and he gives a *resumé* of the studies in Criminology of the famous writers of the time—especially Zola, Dostoynsky and Tolstoi. He especially admires Zola's fidelity to nature in his 'Criminals,' and it seems Zola acknowledges studying Lombroso for his characters! Yet he acknowledges that the exaggerations of the truth are not always useful in literature, seeing the truth is not always beautiful; although the three novelists above cited are the only ones to his view who have introduced novelty into fiction of recent times. In 'Literary Customs of the Present Time,' by E. Caro, he holds that the frivolity of the public is the true evil of the present day. All discussion disappears before a Radical negative. He does not believe that the great authorities of doctrine or of talent who impose themselves upon a generation will endure for any length of time.—An article is begun on Zola's 'Rougon-Macquart' novels, by Pablo Alexis.—A most interesting article by José Ramón Munida on 'Pre-Columbian Mexican Sculpture,' tells us that the ancient Americans were behind in the technique of sculpture—behind, not so much owing to culture, but to their deficient aptitude for the great æsthetic conceptions, seen on all manual works that are current to-day in all the Indian Pueblos.—'Literary Impressions' speak highly of the songs of D. Melchor Palon, but less of his finished pieces. When he sings to science he certainly does so with more sympathy than poetry.—S. Percy de la Greda has a novel highly recommended, 'Cabeza de Mujer,' which ends tragically; while the 'Chronicles of D. Ricardo Sépúlveda' are described as enchanting in style. 'Castelar's International Chronicle' is remarkable for the grasp of the religious condition of Europe, on the text of 'The Union of the Latin and Greek Churches.' He describes the difficulties in the way, but the Republican ends with leaving all to the God of justice and liberty!—(August).—More than half of this month's space, like much of t last in this International-Spanish magazine slations.

There is a translation taking up quite half of the n
of the story of 'Meta Holdenis' of Victor Cherbu
short tale of Daudet, and Sir John Lubbock's 'Music.'
the article of César Lombroso is a translation from the I
entitled 'The Criminal Type in Art.' It is a suggestiv
paper, in support of the dictum that in all masterpieces, p
larly painting, the criminal type, as verified scientifically
New School, has been understood by the Greek masters e
the most backward centuries. 'The story of the R
Macquart Novels' of Zola is completed. In a criticism of F
Monton, French humourist, (also presumably a translati
have an amusing discussion of why the French, who ar
most sparkling people in the world,' should have to borro
word from the English! The answer is incorrect. It ou
be, that the French word, 'esprit,' explains their wit—h
does not. 'The Cock of the Steeple,' by Monton, leaves
few pages for Spanish matter; and a portion of this is oc
with the story of the Centenary in Chicago, as continue
will be useful historically, but it is not specially entert
Castelar's Chronicle is the *pièce de resistance* of this Ma
He refers to the German Emperor's faith in his divine missic
speaks highly otherwise of his intelligence and strong w
iron constitution, and a truly healthy control over hi
united to a more regular life and a less nervous one than
have been expected, seeing the character and ends of so
German princes. He is struck with the Crown Prir
Bavaria talking demagogy, and the Prince of Saxony tur
monk. He dwells sadly on the fact that the Republics of
and Portugal make so little progress in the junction of tl
peoples to form an Iberian Republic; and considers th
present-day characteristic of peoples is to govern themselve
this must be done before the hoped-for junction follows. Alw
informing and eloquent paper.'—Villegas' Literary Impres
gives high praise to 'La Hembra,' by Dr. Tusqueto, whic
credit not only to Caledonia but to all Spain! It is not e
meet any superior to it among recent novels.—Topez de Gom
Buenos Ayres, has written two books; one to show, by mea
hypnotism the duality of man; the other to follow by cons
ing an ideal theory of spiritual existence, and fixing the n
principles, and the rules of conduct we ought to follow.
are called 'La Ciencia del bien y del mal,' and 'La M
doctrina.'—(September).—After the usual well chosen tr
tions from Russian, French and English sources, we come
able article on 'The Suffrage Called Universal,' in whic
claims of women and young men—under age—are consid

the right of a youth of 21 to balance the vote of the father of a family; and other questions as to how the real will of a nation is to be better obtained than under the present system.—'The End of Bohemia,' 'Literary Influence of the Commune,' by E. Caro, gives a critical examination of the life of Bohemia, its good work and its evil influences; its triumph under Rochefort in 1869; its demoralisation and madness under the Commune. He attributes much to literature, and quotes from a chapter, 'Victims of the book,' which says, '"Seek for the woman," said a judge. "What I seek is the volume, the chapter, the page, the phrase. . . . Joy, grief, love, revenges, our sobs, our laughs, passions, crimes, all is copied, all," but Bohemia is away.'—Emilia Pardo Bazan has an article on 'Zola's Doctor Pascal,' and this is a type of modern Spain, living largely on French thought and neglecting her own genius.—'Clothing in the Exhibition'—retrospective art—is a study by Catalina Narváez.—More of the Centenary leads to 'Literary Impressions,' in which Villegas complains of the neglect of Spanish plays for inferior French, and calls for a national awakening for the preservation of their own glories. Yes! there is too little of Spain in these magazines.

HOLLAND.

THEOLOGISCH TIJDSCHRIFT.—The September number opens with a paper on 'Pastoral Theology,' by Dr. J. Knappert. He reviews a German book on the subject, and sketches his own ideas of the order in which it should be taught. We gather that in Holland as well as in this country there is great need to have candidates for the ministry instructed in the theory of the Church, and of Church services, in the art of preaching and catechising, and in the theory and practice of missions. In Holland as in Scotland, it is disbelief in high churchism, the unwillingness to see in the Church anything more than a voluntary association, which has caused the neglect of the scientific study of the Church's aims and methods. Dr. Knappert shows, however, that even taking the Church to be no more than a voluntary association of all who care for the Christian cause and desire to further it, such an association must have rules and a belief, and that there will be a right way and a wrong way in each part of her activity. Preaching is improving in Holland we hear; we earnestly trust it is being curtailed in length. The last Dutch sermon we listened to occupied an hour and three-quarters in delivery; there was a pause after the hour—a verse was sung and bags were carried round twice—the sermon then went on again as before.—Professor Van Manen concludes his studies of

the Gospel of Peter. It does not add to our knowledge of t Gospel narrative, he concludes; but it shows that narrative have been shorter before it took the form it has in our Synopti the new fragment carries us back in a way the others do not in the process through which the Gospels were formed. The articles are important and thorough, and give a complete list publications and articles bearing on the subject up to date.

DE GIDS.—In the July, August and September numbe considerable space is filled by a clever novelette, 'Royalt by Louis Couperus. The *dramatis personæ* are modern, a the scene, chiefly a fictitious capital on the banks of t Danube. The hero is a young crown prince, psychologica an extreme contrast to his autocratic inflexible father. T young man early finds himself forced into opposition to t Emperor, although just when his sympathies are aroused the miseries of the people an attempt is made on his by a socialist fanatic. He has a love passage with a midd aged and very facile duchess, which presently ends in furt disenchantment with life. Then a suitable royal bride selected for him, and he is ordered to go and make acquaintance. He finds her as miserable as himself, votedly attached to a man who has abandoned all ho of her, and who has just married into a lower sph Though the prince romantically saves her life, he retu home so overwhelmed with the sadness of his lot, that health is seriously affected. In a stormy interview with father, he states his resolution to renounce the succession favour of his younger brother; his father's words drive hin suicide, but he fails even in that, and the younger brother d Next, his wedding goes on, though at the moment when joy-bells are pealing, the bride reads that her former lover blown out his brains. Scarcely is the wedding—described too great length, and with very obvious reference to a re royal wedding, including torch dances by the ministers—1 than the old Emperor is shot in his box in the opera. prince, overcome by his constitutional melancholy, has strength to resist it, and all that is noble in him revives. boldly accepts the new order of things and a revised const tion. Through sympathy with him, his wife learns to love and also to share his love for the people and to make sacri for their good. For her the future is full of promise as stands by the cradle of their son, whom the young Emp can never look on without having his soul wrung with forebodings of the eventualities of life both for himself and child. On the whole it is a remarkable story, especially

cessful in its delineation of the Crown Prince's character as affected by his situation.—August and September contain in two parts a most interesting study of the life and works of Renan, by Polak, who shows great insight and makes many original deductions, though possibly there is a little too much eulogy.—There are also two papers on Hugo de Groot in Paris, 1621-1625, by Professor H. C. Rogge. These contain a most careful record of all that is known of the life of De Groot in Paris, after his escape from prison in Holland, and not only so, but a fascinating account of his life in the great city, where, between the intrigues of the court of Louis XIII., and the dangers arising from his enemies in Holland, it required the greatest wariness to be safe. De Groot is shewn to have been all through faithful to his high ideal of life, and to the principles for which he suffered. Yet though in exile, it is shewn that he enjoyed much compensation for his privations in the society of the most cultivated and learned men of the day; and his home life is also vividly depicted.—'Conservative Scepticism' is a review by Professor Spruyt of a rather curious and interesting work, 'Humanity and Religion, a sketch by an old man.' In this sketch he strongly repudiates this century's blind devotion to the dictates of natural science, and while he reverences religious faith as a proof that humanity seeks more than scientific knowledge and sensual joy, and aspires to some higher development, he, at the same time, does not profess to dogmatise about this, which, as well as the personal future of the individual, must more or less remain a mystery.—Zola's 'Doctor Pascal,' is noticed as a distinct declension from his previous novels.—In September, Mr. J. N. van Hall gives a contribution to Goethe literature in his 'Goethe's Frederica.' His conclusion is 'that Frederica was loved by Goethe, and that she, as Frau von Stein says in one of her letters, "loved Goethe more than he deserved:" that afterwards she showed towards the man who had forsaken her a forgiving gentle sweet spirit and let him go his way in peace. Thus the actual Frederica, in her homely simplicity, is really not far from the ideal Frederica of "Dichtung and Wahrheit," so that the pastor's daughter of Sesenheim may be permitted to retain in peace the honourable place so long accorded to her in literary history'.—(October) begins with the first part of an article by Boekenoogen, on 'The Nursery Rhymes of Holland,' which are extremely numerous and curious. Most are ancient, and such as may be found in other countries, but the origin of some he traces to poems of the seventeenth century, once popular, but now forgotten, except in the perverted form of nursery rhymes.—An excellent article by Prof. de

Gooie is devoted to the 'Investigation of the episode of the Bâb and the Bâbî's in general,' a subject of the first importance to thousands in the East. His chief authority is Browne.—'The State Archives,' by Riemsdijk, is a sketch of the history of the Dutch archives, with suggestions for a new law to define what ought to be considered such, and to give proper regulations for the preservation of and access to both provincial collections and those of the capital.—Of lighter pieces, this number contains 'Lucy,' an extremely commonplace drama, without a single line of merit; the 'Elegy of Moschos,' finely translated into blank verse by Dr. Koster; and several graceful pieces of verse by the never-failing Hélène Swarth. —Ibsen's 'Peer Gynt,' hitherto not properly understood or appreciated, has its true interpretation from R. C. Boer.

DENMARK.

YFARBOOK FOR NORTHERN ARCHÆOLOGY AND HISTORY (Vol. VIII., Part 2.)—In this part Dr. Angul Hammerich gives an exhaustive account of the important discoveries recently made by him in connection with the splendid trumpets (*lurer*) belonging to the Bronze Age, which are mainly preserved in the Old Northern Museum at Copenhagen, and have nearly all been found within Denmark itself. The form, material, and musical properties of every specimen is carefully detailed, and the general conclusions as to the method of using the instruments, and the high stage of musical science required to produce them are of great interest. Dr. Hammerich also gives a brief account of the wind instruments known to the other ancient peoples, and claims for the *lurer* a great superiority in sweetness and variety of tone, a fact which he thinks may go to support the theory that the music of modern Europe is primarily derived from the Scandinavian peoples. However this may be, the learned musician's discoveries are an important addition to our knowledge of the culture of the bronze period.—A short article by J. Kornerup describes his discovery of the portraits of King Valdemar Atterdag and Queen Helvig during the late restoration of St. Peter's Church at Næstved, and is illustrated by an engraving of Valdemar's figure with the accompanying inscription.

ICELAND.

SUNNANFARI (Vol. II., July 1892—June 1893).—The second year's issue of this illustrated monthly contains many interesting forebibutions to modern Icelandic literature. Among the child. ated biographical notices may be mentioned those on the

veteran historian Páll Melsted, on the late Mr. Arthur Reeves, editor of 'The Finding of Wineland the Good,' Bishop Gudbrandur, the translator of the Icelandic Bible, and Dr. Grímur Thomsen, who enjoys the reputation of being the only man in Iceland who now reads Greek for pleasure's sake. Of the other prose articles the chief are:—Thorsteinn Erlingsson's criticism of a new poem 'Gudrún Osvífsdóttir' (founded on the Laxdaela Saga), where there are many sound remarks on recent Icelandic poetry, particularly on the ballads (rímur), which have been so much abused of late: an anonymous article on appeals to the Danish courts in Icelandic law-suits; 'the Missionaries,' a religious satire by Thorsteinn Erlingsson containing some excellent humour, and three articles by Olafur Davidsson on 'The name Vinland on maps before the time of Columbus and his voyage to Iceland,' a careful contribution to mediæval geography. Many of the smaller notes on men and books are of considerable interest even in this country. Among the original verse here printed are some good pieces by Thorsteinn Erlingsson, that entitled 'May First' being particularly pretty and peculiarly melodious from its complicated rhymes. His 'War of the Gods' is a rather new view of the succession of religions (Pagan, Roman Catholic and Lutheran) in the North, and has been censured in the organ of the Church. Of some interest here is his poem on the death of Sigurd Vigfusson, brother to the late Dr. Gudbrand Vigfusson of Oxford. In the January part there is a beautiful piece on the New Year by Páll Olafsson. one of the older living poets, and in that for August, 1892, an excellent translation of part of Tegnèr's 'Axel,' by the late Rev. Björn Haldorsson. The metrical paraphrases from the sagas of Egill and Grettir would indicate that the taste for *rímur* still survives in Iceland.—The whole volume is an interesting record of Icelandic literary activity, and as such worthy of all praise.

TÍMARIT HINS ÍSLENZKA BÓKMENNTAFJELAGS (Journal of the Icelandic Literary Society).—The volume just issued for 1893 is of great interest. The first of the four long articles it contains is a 'History of the Latin schools in Iceland down to 1846,' by Janus Jónsson, which comes very appropriately at a time when Iceland is following the modern tendency in giving up Latin as a necessary subject of education.—The second article is one on 'Sea-monsters,' by Benedikt Gröndal, who writes in an interesting way about the sea-serpent, mermaid, giant octopus, and other monsters of the kind.—'The History of Icelandic Geography,'

which Thorvald Thoroddsen put forth last year, receives here valuable addition from Olaf Davidsson, who supplements it wit many additional notes, mainly on the mediæval maps.—D Valtýr Gudmundsson contributes a review of books relatir to Old Northern literature, published in 1891, chiefly t theories of Meyer and Mogk on the mythology, and of Zimm and Bugge with regard to Celtic influence.—Baring Gould paraphrase of Grettir's Saga is also noticed at some length.

SKÍRNIR (the summary of news for 1892) contains, as it h done for the past few years, both the news from Iceland and t chief events in Europe. The former section is by Pálmi Pálss and gives a general account of what has taken place in legis ture, the church, education, and trade, and a list of the m notable persons who have died during the year.—The summa of foreign news is by Dr. Jón Stefánsson, with a section Canada and the United States, by Einar Hjörleifsson.—T account of European politics for 1892, is very clear and int esting, and is followed by two pages on Tennyson, and a tra lation of a leader on Iceland, which appeared in the *Times* April 3, 1893.—Under the head of 'Literature,' Dr. Stefáns deals in a lively style with representative men of the th Scandinavian peoples—Brandes, Björnson, and Strindberg A lengthy bibliography of books relating to Iceland, publis within the past five years, is a valuable feature of this issue.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

The Old Syriac Element in the Text of Codex Bezae. By FREDERICK HENRY CHASE, B.D. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1893.

The subject of the origin of the Bezan text of the New Testament has for some time engaged the attention of scholars, and is of very considerable interest and importance. Among recent writers Mr. Rendel Harris has accounted for its frequent divergences from the true Greek text by attributing them to Latin influence. Principal Chase here enters upon a new and independent investigation of the subject, and has been led to a conclusion which is at once different and of the greatest importance. The main elements of the theory he has formulated as the result of his studies may be best stated in his own words, which are these : (1). The Bezan text of the Acts is the result of an assimilation of a Greek text to a Syriac text. The extent indeed to which this work of assimilation has been carried out varies in different parts of the Bezan text. It reveals itself sometimes in the addition of a gloss, sometimes in the reconstruction of a paragraph, sometimes in the alteration of a word, or even of the form of a word. It never long remains inactive. (2). A marked characteristic of this Syriac text is its constant tendency to harmonize the text of the Acts with other parts of Scripture ; it weaves, that is, into its rendering of a particular passage phrases from other parts of the Acts, from the Gospels, the Pauline Epistles, and the Old Testament. (3). This Syriac text of the Acts, in which large portions of the Bezan text are based, is not the Syriac Vulgate. It is an old Syriac Version, in which, when the evidence derived from Codex D is supplemented by that derived from other sources, we can, I believe, from time to time discern traces of variations of reading. The conclusion that it is an *Old* Syriac text which lies behind Codex D is founded on the consideration of two lines of evidence—'*external* and *internal*.' In proof of these conclusions Mr. Chase examines in detail, and in the order in which they occur, the characteristic Bezan readings in the first eight chapters of the Acts, and more briefly a selection of those which occur after the lacuna, in the remaining chapters in which the Greek text of the MS. is extant. The examination is extremely painstaking and minute. Incidentally the parts of the text of the recently-recovered Gospel of St. Peter are discussed. After a careful review of authorities Mr. Chase fixes the date of the Bezan text of the Acts as at least as early as 180 A.D., and that of the old Syriac text which lies behind it, at shortly after, perhaps even some time before, the middle of the second century. As to the birth-place of the Bezan text of the Acts he believes there is good reason for naming Antioch for it. In supporting his conjecture he points to the fact that the similarly Syriacised Greek text in the Gospel of St. Peter was found in circulation at Rhossus, a town a few miles north of Antioch, by Serapion, Bishop of Antioch, 190-203 A.D. The bearings of the theory, so carefully supported by Mr. Chase, are for the study of the text of the New Testament of the greatest importance ; and his volume can not fail to attract the attention of scholars, and to be highly appreciated.

Rosneath Past and Present. By WILLIAM CHARLES MAUGHAN. Paisley and London : Alex. Gardner. 1893.

Mr. Maughan has here done a very serviceable piece of work. The

peninsula or 'island' of Rosneath is only some seven miles long by about two broad, and has never been the scene of any great historical event. Yet few and comparatively unimportant as the incidents connected with it are, Mr. Maughan has managed to weave them together into a very readable story, and in fact to produce one of the best Scottish local histories we are acquainted with. The chief family on the peninsula is of course the Argyll. After them come the Colquhouns of Luss, who claim an antiquity greater even than the Campbells. Of these families Mr. Maughan, as in duty bound, gives an informing, if brief, account, and does not neglect others of less note. The fortunes of Rosneath Castle are narrated, and many incidents of interest are recorded. Wallace is not omitted from the story, and Bruce is nearly brought within the bounds of the parish. But it is in the ecclesiastical traditions of the place that Mr. Maughan is strongest. The Storys, father and son, Dugald Stewart, and the founder of the Andersonian College in Glasgow, have given a sort of celebrity to the place. Of the elder Story, we have a fairly detailed narrative, while Dr. John Campbell M'Leod of Row, Carlyle and Irving, and other names known to fame appear in the annals. Chapters are also devoted to the topography of the peninsula; some curious things are said about the remarkable boulders found in it, and there are many notes on its fauna and flora, amongst which last we have references to the famous silver firs. The Marquess of Lorne contributes some sonorous lines in which the history of the peninsula is succinctly told, and one or two notes. Mr. Maughan is at great pains to show how rapidly the place has developed in recent years, and what immense changes have occurred. Perhaps nowhere so well as in Mr. Maughan's pages can one obtain so good or vivid an idea of the rapid strides the country has made during the last fifty years.

The United States. An Outline of Political History, 1492—1871. By GOLDWIN SMITH, D.C.L. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1893.

To Englishmen visiting the United States, and to Englishmen or Scotsmen who are not, this volume, we should say, will be extremely welcome. It contains only an outline, it is true, but it is an outline sketched with remarkable skill. Coming from the pen of Mr. Goldwin Smith, it could scarcely be otherwise. We doubt indeed whether he has produced anything equally brilliant, and we are certainly not aware of any work dealing with the same subject, which is at all comparable with it. In clear, terse, vigorous language, the political history of the United States, from its discovery by Columbus down to the close of the great Civil War, is sketched with a rapid and masterly hand. The interest never for a moment flags. The author's political theory or theories may not be always acceptable, but it is hardly possible not to admire his literary art. From American readers Mr. Goldwin Smith claims indulgence for the absence of details. We doubt, however, whether there is any necessity for any such claim being put in. Americans, we imagine, however familiar they may be with 'the main facts and the general relations of parties in the political history' of the United States, will be quite as well pleased as those who are not acquainted with these main facts and relations, to see them treated in so brilliant a way. In the event of this volume finding acceptance, we are promised a companion to it, treating with the same succinctness of the recent history of parties, and the questions at present engaging the attention of the American mind. There is little chance of the volume not finding acceptance. It would be doing scant justice to the public to suppose there is.

Madoc: An Essay on the Discovery of America by Madoc ap Owen Gwynedd in the Twelfth Century. By THOMAS STEPHENS. Edited by LLYWARCH REYNOLDS, B.A. London and New York. Longmans, Green, & Co. 1893.

The title of Christopher Columbus to be the first European discoverer of America is disputed by the Welsh as well as by the Northmen. The evidence on which they base their claim may not be altogether convincing, nevertheless the belief that the new continent was discovered by Madoc ap Owen Gwynedd, some two centuries or more before the adventurous Genoese first stumbled upon it, has long been widely spread among the Welsh, and is to this day very tenaciously held and maintained among them. The history of Mr. Stephens' essay is a singular illustration of this. Though only recently published, it was written as far back as the year 1858, and was presented as one of the competitive essays at the Llangollen Eisteddfod, held in the September of that year, when a prize was offered 'for the best essay upon the discovery of America in the twelfth century by Prince Madoc ab Owain Gwynedd.' Six essays were sent in. Five of them took the affirmative and assumed the truth of the Welsh tradition; and one, Mr. Stephens', took the negative, and denied the tale

> 'How Madoc from the shores of Britain spread
> The adventurous sail.'

The judges pronounced Mr. Stephens' essay, though it took the unpopular side, the best; but the Committee, not favouring his views, set the judgment of the judges aside and declined to bestow upon him the prize, on the ground that the essay was not on the discovery, but on the *non discovery* of America by Madoc. Much feeling was aroused, the Committee were expostulated with, and many angry words were spoken, but the Committee stuck to their points and the prize was never awarded. The incident was marked by other features over which it may be as well to pass. It is right to observe, however, that one member of the Committee, 'Carn Ingli,' disapproved of his colleagues' action, maintaining that the duty of the Committee was ministerial and not judicial, and saying 'that it was his desire that an award be made.' As might be expected, the essay is a piece of careful writing, and contains an exhaustive examination of the subject. First of all we have the literature of the subject, the statements of various writers who have mentioned or dealt with it being given, such as the allusions to it in the Bardic poems, historical testimonies, and the stories of travellers. In the next place the affirmative view is examined, and then what is called the tentative view. Considerable space is afterwards devoted to the question as to the existence of 'Welsh Indians,' after which the various arguments for and against the discovery by Madoc are gathered up and the question is finally decided in the negative. In Mr. Stephens' opinion, the story is purely legendary, and had no existence till after the fifteenth century. The argument of the essay is calm and judicial in tone and is supported with great learning. Whether it will meet with general acceptance among Mr. Stephens' countrymen is another question. Traditional beliefs are not often put down by arguments. All the same, the author has done a piece of work for which many will be thankful. As time passes it will have its effect in clearing away the mists of tradition and preparing the way for sound knowledge. The editor, Mr. Reynolds, has done his part with fidelity, and enriched the work with a number of excellent notes.

Saint Columba: His Life and Work. By the Rev. EDWARD ALEXANDER COOKE, M.A. 2nd Edition. Edinburgh: St. Giles Printing Company.

Mr. Cooke has here written, as he could hardly fail, an interesting and entertaining account of the life and work of the Great Apostle to the Northern Picts. That it is always reliable we cannot say. Had Mr. Cooke carried out his original aim, it might have been extremely valuable. That aim we are told, was 'to write, with simplicity and conciseness, a memoir of the Saint based on facts drawn from genuine and authentic sources.' As a matter of fact, however, his pages are simply a reflection of those of the Old Irish Life and Adamnan. These two Lives are certainly both genuine and authentic, but the same can scarcely be said of their statements. The imaginary or mythical element is so large and obvious in them that it is not a little remarkable to find a writer citing whole chapters from them as sober history. A critical life of the Great Saint is to be desired. Mr. Cooke's is quite uncritical. All the same, having made abundant use of the two Lives mentioned above, and of Dr. Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, Montalembert's *Monks of the West*, and other works of a similar nature, he has written, as we have said, an interesting and entertaining narrative. The fact that his volume has reached a second edition is not without significance. In the next edition it may be as well to correct the statement on page 3 that the Old Irish Life of St. Ninian was written by St. Ailred. Ailred is not known to have been the author of that Life. The Life which he did write is in Latin, and in fairly good Latin for the period. On page 61 again, we are told that S. Columba founded the monastery at Iona with 150 monks, and on page 65 we have the statement that the monks were at first twelve in number, which is correct. On page 62 it is said: 'Adamnan makes frequent mention of the Abbot's house or hut, at some distance from each other, built with planks, and situated on an eminence.' Adamnan speaks of one hut, the 'tuguriolum in eninentiore loco fabricatum,' as usually occupied by Columba, but whether he was in the habit of occupying more, he does not say. The probability is he was not. At anyrate Mr. Cooke's sentence is wrong and needs correction. The Scots of Britain are usually supposed to have been Christians, and to have brought their Christianity with them from Dalriada; Mr. Cooke, however, attributes their conversion to S. Columba, (p. 74). No notice is taken of the alleged meeting between the Northern Apostle and St. Kentigern. A useful chapter has been added on the life and works of Adamnan, St. Columba's famous biographer, but nothing is said of Cuimene the Fair, the Saint's earliest biographer, and whose entire narrative has been almost literally transferred to his own pages by Adamnan.

Robert Burns. Par AUGUSTE ANGELLIER, Docteur ès Lettres, etc. Vol. I., La Vie; Vol. II., Les Oeuvres. Paris: Hachette & Cie., 1893.

It is not often that a Frenchman ventures upon the somewhat thorny path of Scottish literature. Still less seldom is it that any of our Gallic neighbours devote anything like the prolonged and patient, and indeed affectionate, attention to a Scottish subject which M. Angellier has here devoted to the life and works of Burns. As a rule, Frenchmen, at least those of them who belong, or have belonged, to the present century, fight shy of Scotland and all its interests, except when the latter are bound up with the history of their own nation. M. Francisque-Michel and others

have made not a few contributions to Scottish history, and shown a lively interest in the famous

> 'Weill keipit ancient alliance
> Maid betwix Scotland and the realme of France,'

and in many things connected with it, but for contributions to the history or study of Scottish literature, more especially of recent or comparatively recent times, we look almost in vain. Probably there are good reasons for it. For one thing, since the Union the necessity for the maintenance of that once 'weill keipit ancient alliance' has ceased to exist. For another, since the Union was consummated, each of the two nations has gone its own way, and the interests of Scotland have been more and more identified with those of England, the ancient enemy of France. For a third, since the ancient alliance between France and Scotland was in force, no 'bright and particular star,' with the single exception of Burns, has arisen in the firmament of Scottish literature, and appealed to more than national or local sympathies. And, perhaps as a fourth and last reason may be mentioned, that, as a rule, except to our Teutonic brethren, such, for instance, as Dr. Schipper, whose edition of Dunbar is of quite exceptional merit, the difficulties in the way of a full and thorough appreciation of the purely Scottish literature are, for foreigners, apparently well nigh insurmountable. As all the world is aware, Voltaire and his school could not abide Shakespeare. What these lights of French literature would have thought about Burns, Scotsmen, it may be safely said, do not care to imagine. In M. Angellier, however, they will find one who is entirely to their mind. Few Scotsmen know their Burns so well, and few are as well versed in all that pertains to Burns, his writings, or his times. The two volumes before us are without a rival. A glance at the 'Bibliographie,' covering some thirty closely-printed octavo pages, at the end of the second volume, will show the care with which the author prepared himself for his labour, while the perusal of his pages will show the excellent manner in which he has made use of his materials. He has had the advantage, of course, of coming late in the day, after many capable hands have essayed to do justice to the genius of the poet, and after almost everything that can possibly be known about Burns has been given to the public; still, while taking his facts wherever they were to be found, M. Angellier has not been contented to follow in the beaten track of other biographers of Burns, but has struck out a new and independent path for himself, and written with singular freshness and originality. The first of the two volumes is devoted to an extended narrative of the poet's life. The first thing that strikes one on perusal of its pages is the author's perfect familiarity with the Burns country. The descriptions of it are exceptionally vivid, and prove that whether M. Angellier has made one or many pilgrimages to it, he has certainly been a diligent and interested observer. That he should have much or anything that is particularly new to tell about Burns was scarcely to be expected. The chief charm of his narrative is due to the new and brilliant setting which he gives to what was already known, and to the remarkably vivid way in which he makes the scenery of Burns's life live and move before one's eyes. It would be easy to cite passage after passage in proof of this, but here citation is impossible. Reference, however, may be made to the description of Burns's childhood, of his education, of the scenery around Alloway, of the religious condition of Scotland and of Burns's conflict with the clergy, of Edinburgh and Burns's visit to it in 1786. The fulness of knowledge with which M. Angellier here, and elsewhere throughout the volumes, writes is surprising. For the interior life of the poet, he of course goes to the letters and poems, and interprets them with skill and fidelity. The second volume is devoted to an exposition and interpre-

tation of the poems. The first eighty pages, however, are taken up with a discussion as to the origin and history of Scottish poetry, with particular reference to the popular literature of ballads and songs. M. Angellier is not a follower of M. Taine, and in the opening pages of the volume makes some very pertinent remarks in reference to the theories set forth in the latter's *History of English Literature.* For himself M. Angellier is content to take literature as he finds it, without setting up any hard and fast theory about its origin or the influences that determine its character. His aim in dealing with the older literature is to show how Burns was affected by it. The chapters which follow are philosophical and literary rather than critical, and deal with such topics as 'Human Life in Burns,' 'Burns as the Poet of Love,' 'The feeling for Nature in Burns.' One section is specially devoted to the humour of Burns. All through, M. Angellier illustrates his statements with copious extracts from the poems. These are, as a rule, extremely well translated. There is a certain strangeness about the translations, and here and there a correction might be ventured, but on the whole they are singularly well done. It is to be hoped that the two volumes will soon see the light in the translation, which we understand is being made of them into English. But, translated or not translated, we have no hesitation in saying that they contain in every way the best account of the life and writings of Burns which, in a pretty extensive course of reading, it has been our fortune to meet with.

Carmina Mariana: An English Anthology in Verse, in Honour of or in Relation to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Collected and arranged by ORBY SHIPLEY, M.A. London: Printed for the Editor by Spottiswoode & Co. 1893.

Some years ago Mr. Orby Shipley did excellent service by compiling one of the best anthologies we have for the ecclesiastical year. His present work, though of a similar nature, is somewhat different from his *Annus Sanctus.* As the title page bears, it is an anthology in verse, in honour of or in relation to the Virgin Mary. The aim which he has had before him has been 'to exhibit within the compass of a single volume a considerable body of English verse, written in the past in connection with the name of Mary, and to present translations from foreign languages of poetry concerning our Blessed Lady, either of classical reputation in itself or representative of a numerous class or which bears the special "imprimatur" of the Church.' The poems selected are gathered from a wide field, including such writers as Chaucer, Dante, Dunbar, Crashawe, Donne, Beattie, Shelley, Coleridge, Sir Edwin Arnold, Aubrey de Vere, Lewis Morris, Coventry Patmore, Sir Walter Scott, Wordsworth, and Lord Tennyson. The selection is Catholic in almost every sense of the word, and bears ample witness to the patience and tact of the compiler. Many of the poems are of great beauty, and the volume will prove itself acceptable to numbers. As a rule, devotional poems already familiar through hymn books and books of prayer, are excluded. On the other hand, though new translations have been admitted, no new original poetry has. The poems are of all kinds and in all measures, and represent the poetry of many languages, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese, as also Syriac and Armenian. As for the English poems, some of them are gathered from many out of the way corners, and have been written in all parts of the world, wherever, indeed, the English language is spoken. The volume is handsomely printed, and contains a good index to the first lines. An index of authors would have been an improvement. This, however, may be supplied in the next edition.

The Maxims and Reflections of Goethe. Translated by T. BAILEY SAUNDERS. With a Preface. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1893.

It was not until the year 1870 that Goethe's *Sprüche in Prosa* appeared in a separate form in Germany, and from one point of view it is not at all surprising that no earlier attempt has been made to popularise them here. As a rule they are too high and severe to become rapidly popular. Sooner or later, however, they are sure to make their way and to become current, at least in literature. They touch upon most human subjects and number in all more than a thousand. Some of them have already found their way into English, chiefly through Eckermann and Carlyle. Mr. Saunders estimates the number of these at about a hundred and fifty. These, however, are but a small proportion. Nor have we here in Mr. Saunders' translation the rest. Very wisely he has restricted his efforts as a translator to a selection, for some of the sayings included in the *Sprüche* are of only a temporary or local nature. Generally speaking, Mr. Saunders' selection is excellent, though some of those he has chosen might, without detracting from the value of his book, have been left out, on the ground that they are not exactly true, or are scarcely more than commonplace. Something of this sort, however, might have been expected. Still there is quite sufficient pure gold in the volume to make it worth every one's while to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest what it says. In fact, with an exceedingly small proportion of exceptions, the sayings are remarkably brilliant. They are arranged under four heads—'Life and Character,' 'Literature and Art,' 'Science,' and 'Nature.' In the selection of the sayings on Science, Mr. Saunders has had the assistance of Prof. Huxley, and Sir Frederick Leighton has done him a similar service in connection with the sayings on Art. Great credit is due to Mr. Saunders for the way in which he has overcome the difficulties in the way of rendering Goethe's German, here not always the most lucid, into excellent English. His preface, extending to about fifty pages, forms an admirable introduction to the appreciation of the maxims. Long as it is, it is not a bit too long, and will be read with pleasure.

A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles, Founded Mainly on the Materials Collected by the Philological Society. Edited by JAMES A. H. MURRAY, D.C.L., etc. Part VII. Consignificant — Crouching. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1893.

Patiently and steadily Dr. Murray and his numerous band of assistants are carrying on their gigantic work. Whether they meet with the sympathy and encouragement they deserve we do not know; but from the notes which are here and there to be met with elsewhere, it might almost, if not altogether, be inferred that their pages are much less consulted than they might be. A work so thoroughly national and carried out on so magnificent a scale, by men able and admirably equipped for the task they have in hand as Dr. Murray and his colleagues have proved themselves, deserves the very heartiest and widest support. That they should proceed slowly is of the nature of the case. Every page and every column bears witness of indefatigable and extensive research, and implies an abundance of labour in other ways—labour too of a kind which cannot be hurried, but must necessarily be slow. The present part—to say nothing of the advanced part, (E—Every) brought out some time ago under the joint-editor-

ship of Dr. Murray and Mr. Bradley—which brings the Dictionary down to 'Crouching,' contains 5,414 main words, or counting subordinate words and forms, 7,540. These words are all explained, while some thousands of obvious combinations which need no explanation have also been registered. The long series of words with the prefix 'con'—is at last finished, and an extremely interesting series beginning with 'cr'—is dealt with. Many of the words treated are of considerable historical interest, others are interesting because of their etymology and form-history, while the sense development of other words is not less noteworthy than their origin. The article under the word 'cross,' is an admirable sample of what Dr. Murray and his colleagues can do, and habitually do in these pages, in the way of giving the history of a word. Every point in connection with the word which it suggests to us, and many others, are dealt with in the most thorough and admirable way. One point only have we noticed as wanting. The O. E. *ród*, rood, is given under the substantive, but under the past tense and pple., while 'crossed' and 'crost' are given, there is no reference either here or under 'croise' to the old Scotch 'sanyt.' The absence of this is not a defect; attention is called to it in the hope that when the word is dealt with other forms may be looked for; 'sanyt' being the only form known to the present writer. Strangely enough, 'creile,' 'Scottish Legends of the Saints,' Paulus, l. 20, an earlier example of 'creel' than Wyntoun's has not been registered. Very admirable is the treatment of 'creep,' as also are those of 'crib,' 'cricket,' 'crock,' 'crook,' 'crane,' 'crank,' 'crab,' 'crabbed,' 'council' and 'counsel,' 'cottage' and 'cottar,' and many others. In fact it is simply wonderful how much interest is developed in the words, and we might fill more than one page by merely setting down those articles to which special attention deserves to be drawn, on account of the novelty of the information they contain.

Coaching Days and Coaching Ways. By W. OUTRAM TRISTRAM. With 214 Illustrations by Hugh Thomson and Herbert Railton. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1893.

With the advance of civilization travelling, at least in Great Britain, has lost its romance. It is safer, speedier, more comfortable, but as dull and unromantic as ditch water. Incidents occur, but they are often of the most tragic kind. The traveller supplies himself with his papers, and then drops into his corner and simply waits, without even so much as the vision of a hot breakfast, or a roaring fire to relieve the tedium of the way. Humdrum, and humdrum of the most tedious kind, is the rule. It is something positively refreshing to turn from modern experience to the times here depicted in Mr. Tristram's volume. Imagination may of course have much to do with the change of feeling; nevertheless one turns over Mr. Tristram's pages with the keenest pleasure. To say they are interesting and racy is to give but a poor idea of their contents. 'In setting out on the Great Roads of England,' he says, 'whether in the lumbering six-inside vehicles of the seventeenth century, or in the light four-inside Fast Coaches which in about 1823 marked the meridian of road travelling, I propose to take an inconstant course of my own. And by inconstant I mean that I shall bind myself neither to time, place, nor consistency of attitude to my subject. I shall now look at it, for instance, in the company of Mr. Stanley Harris . . . and other knights of the Ribbons, . . . purely from the coachman's point of view; and then I shall look at it from the point of view of Miss Burney and Mr. Samuel Pepys. With kindred assistance I shall try to get some glimpses of the social life which

passed to and fro between London and the provinces from the time when men began to travel, up to the time when they began to arrive at places, but to travel no more. I shall show our ancestors of all ages in all kinds of costumes—trunk hose, doublet and ruffles, sacks and sarcinets, periwigs and full-bottomed coats, beavers and top-boots, busy at those nothings which make travelled life—eating, drinking, flirting, quarrelling, delivering up their purses, grumbling over their bills—a motley crowd of kings, queens, statesmen, highwaymen, generals, poets, wits, fine ladies, conspirators, and coachmen. With the assistance of my able illustrators, I shall picture these worthies in all sorts of positions—on the road or off it, snowed up, in peril from the great waters, waiting for the stage coaches, etc., alighting at the inns—those inns for which England was once famous, with their broad corridors, their snug bars, their four-posted beds hung with silk, their sheets smelling of lavender, their choice cookery, their claret equal to the best that could be drunk in London. Here too I shall hope now and again to make the violet of a legend blow away the chops and steaks; and besides move chance travellers to call upon some ghostly and romantic figures who lived near the road when in the flesh, whose residence by it seems to make them of it, and must have caused them many times to post up and down it on business or pleasure bent, before grim Fate sent them posting to Hades.' Rarely has promise been so faithfully performed. Mr. Tristram seems to have ransacked all the annals of travel in England for the last three centuries, and to have posted himself well up in the literary and social history of the centuries as well. He has anecdotes in abundance to tell, and now and then legends grim and terrible. Every inch of the six great roads seems to be known to him, and most of the characters reputable and disreputable who once posted upon them. To his illustrators Mr. Tristram has been greatly indebted. Their pictures of old and quaint-looking inns, of famous residences, of picturesque scenes and coaching incidents add greatly to the charm of the volume. Open its pages where we may, one is sure to turn up something to arrest the attention and to beguile one into reading them, oblivious to the flight of time, and conscious only of sustained enjoyment.

Icelandic Pictures. Drawn with Pen and Pencil. By FREDERICK W. W. HOWELL, F.R.G.S. With Maps and many Illustrations. London: Religious Tract Society. 1893.

The choice of a subject for this year's picture-book has been extremely happy. There are several very beautiful books in the series to which it belongs, but none of them excels in interest the one which is now before us. Iceland is known, and it is not known. Most people have heard of it, and most people have learned to associate it with ice and geysers, but few know anything of the wealth of interest attaching to it, or have any conception of the real character of its scenery. Mr. Howell, the author of *Icelandic Pictures*, knows the country and its people, has travelled extensively in it, has climbed its greatest height, and so achieved a success in mountain climbing which he is not likely to be deprived of, and has apparently a considerable acquaintance both with the history and literature of Iceland. The result is that he has here produced a volume, which, take it all in all is in no respect, second to any one of its predecessors. For our own part we are disposed to place it first. It seems to us that it is likely to appeal to, and to attract, a wider circle of readers than any of its companion volumes. There is in it almost everything that a book of this sort should contain—history, topographical descriptions, incidents of travel, references to social, religious, and legal customs, past and present.

The more striking natural phenomena are sketched with the pencil as w as with the pen. Like the rest of its series, the volume is in all exter handsome.

The Handwritings of the Kings and Queens of England. By J. HARDY, F.S.A. With Photogravures and Facsimiles Signatures and Historical Documents. London: Religi Tract Society. 1893.

The greater part of this work appeared in the pages of the *Leisure H* during the years 1889 and 1891. Since then, however, much new ma has been added which has considerably increased its value. Among new matter may be mentioned some words written by Richard II., a le in the handwriting of Henry IV., a curious signature of Henry VI., an specimen of the handwriting of Edward IV., all of which have only rece been discovered. Additional examples of royal handwriting already kn have also been given, and the work is as near complete as it is possibl present to make it. Some of the documents which are reproduced in pages in facsimile are extremely curious and of the highest historical portance. Not the least curious is part of the draft of the 'Bishops' Bo showing alterations in the handwriting of Henry VIII. Another letter from Anne Boleyn written to Cardinal Wolsey some three or f years before her marriage to Henry, when she was about twenty year age. In it she alludes to her correspondent's efforts to assist her in coming the King's consort and promises to him her life-long gratitu Specimens of the handwriting of other of Henry's wives are given. book is extremely curious. The facsimiles are well done. Mr. Har notes are all that can be desired.

Théodore Papadimitrakopoulos. Nouveaux Documents Epig phiques démontrant l'Antiquité de la Prononciation des G Modernes. Leiden: E. J. BRILL, 1890.

Le Poète Aristophane et les Partisans d'Erasme. Same Aut and Publisher. 1893.

In these pamphlets, which are reprinted from Ἑλλάς, the journal of Société Philhellénique, the author brings forward some new evidenc show that the so-called modern pronounciation of Greek was not unkn in the age of Pericles and earlier. As is well known, many of the er due to itacism in Greek MSS. dating so far back as the fourth cent could only have arisen where the sounds given to the letters were sim to the 'Modern usage.' The epigraphic evidence adduced by the w of these pamphlets is of somewhat the same kind. As he himself s sounds and characters were not so exactly equivalent even after the refo of Eukleides, but what errors in spelling were possible! Space does admit of our going through the alphabet *literatim*, but one example or will show the method employed by our author. The modern pronoun ciation of the diphthong ει is like our own 'ei' in *conceive*, etc. No inscriptions dating as far back as the sixth century B.C., we find *e* a interchanged with it; *e.g.*, Μιλιχιος and Μειλίχιος, Ποτειδὰν, Ποτεδάν Ποτιδάν, etc., etc. In the second work the author adduces further evid from inscriptions, and also shows that many of the plays upon word Aristophanes can only be made intelligible by employing the modern nounciation. The pamphlets are worth the attention of all intereste the question.

NEW EDITIONS AND REPRINTS.

Messrs. Macmillan & Co. are continuing their new and cheaper re-iss of the late Professor Maurice's works. The first volume we have to noti this quarter is the volume of sermons entitled *The Doctrine of Sacrif deduced from the Scriptures.* As need hardly be said to Northern reade it is of special interest, having been called forth by a lecture delivered the late Dr. Candlish before the Young Men's Christian Association Exeter Hall, for the purpose of refuting the supposed obnoxio doctrines taught, or supposed to be taught, by the author. The dedic tory letter with which the volume opens is of historical value. T second volume, *The Prayer Book and the Lord's Prayer*, contains what w originally published in two volumes. The sermons on the Lord's Pray have long been among the most popular of their author's writings.

The same publishers have included in their 'Eversley Series' *T Literary Works* of James Smetham, which have been edited for the series Mr. D. Davies. The 'works,' are all too few. One of them is the well kno essay on Blake which, after its appearance in the *London Quarterly Revie* was reprinted in part as an addendum to Messrs. Gilchrist and Rossett *Life of Blake.* It is a remarkable essay, full of excellent criticism, and w deserves its present honour. The same may be said of the essay wi which the volume opens, that on Sir Joshua Reynolds. The other essa are on Alexander Smith, the author of *The Life Drama*, and on Gerha Dow, an artist quite after Mr. Smetham's mind. Like his prose writing Mr. Smetham's verse shows that he had a large vein of poetry in his natu and one can only regret that we have not more of both from his hand.

The Songs of Scotland Chronically Arranged (Alex. Gardner), is a repri of the companion volume of Scottish Ballads recently issued by the sa publisher. For a long time both series have been difficult to find, a their republication at their present moderate price can scarcely fail to ca them to find many readers. For our own part we have long regarded t two as the best popular collections of their kind in existence. The no and introduction which, as we understand, are by Mr. Peter Ross, singularly well done.

At the Front (Alex. Gardner), by 'One who was There,' is the perso narrative of a private soldier's experience during the Crimean War a Indian Mutiny. It abounds in anecdote and vivid descriptions of w took place under the author's eye. Many of the stories are extrem amusing. The author's hero was Lord Clyde, and much is said about hi It is something new to get the story of a great war from the pen of o who fought in the ranks. Those who take up this will not readily la down. Every page has its interest.

To their 'Popular Series of Shilling' Fiction, Messrs. Olipha Anderson, & Ferrier have added Mr. George Douglas's *Mystery of No Fortune*, and to their 'Pocket Novels' Series Mr. P. Hay Hunter's *S of the Croft.*

Messrs. Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier have issued a new and handso edition of *The Book of Old Edinburgh*, prepared by Messrs. J. C. and H. Dunlop, as a handbook of the old Edinburgh street which was rep sented in the International Exhibition held in Edinburgh some seven ye ago. The book is deservedly popular. As we need hardly say, it is abundantly illustrated as a book of this sort ought to be, and not a lit credit is due to Mr. Hole, by whom the illustrations were prepared. H tory and anecdote enliven the pages of the volume, and much informati is given about Scottish domestic architecture and the social life of times, some of them now far back in the past.

SHORT NOTICES.

Mr. W. Tebb's *The Recrudescence of Leprosy and its Causation* (S Sonnenschein), is likely to attract considerable attention, because of immense mass of information it contains upon what appears to be on the most rapidly developing evils of the day. Mr. Tebb has been a v and diligent observer and has gathered his facts from many lands. chief aim is to show that one of the main agents, if not the chief in spread of the evil is vaccination. Much of the information he has recor is very striking and in some respects might almost be regarded as con sive.

Those who wish to understand the present condition of American soc and its undercurrents of thought and aspiration will do well to read Gilman's *Socialism and the American Spirit* (Macmillan). The work i the main a description of the forces at present at work in the formatio public opinion in the United States in relation to the various aim socialism. Mr. Gilman is not himself a socialist, and does not believ socialism. Scientific socialism he believes, with Böhm-Bawerk and oth to be economically unsound. At the same time he recognises that present tendency towards individualism is in need of correction advocates, among other things, the closer union of employer and emplo Profit-sharing, however, he does not regard as the panacea for industrial troubles which are so marked a feature in the social ord the United States.

Some of the poems included in *Dreams o' Hame* (Alex. Gardner) by James D. Law, have appeared before, but the bulk of them are new. show at least that the old Doric has crossed the Atlantic, and American Scotsmen still retain a tender affection for their old home. Law is a skilful versifier, and has a good deal of the poet in him. poems in the Scottish dialect are preferable to his experiments in En verse. In his native dialect he is more at home, and the words seem better to his thoughts. 'A Dream o' Hame,' both in its geographical historical part, is exceptionally good, and shows that the author ha art of throwing off a vivid picture in a few words. The version of first Psalm is interesting; but it will be hard to supplant the old ver now so completely interwoven into the religious thought of the cou Mr. Law has an abundance of quiet humour, and makes good use The 'proem' is curious. On the whole, however, the volume we ima will find a wide circle of readers, and will be enjoyed.

In imitation of their *Paysagistes Contemporains*, MM. G. Piersc Cie., Paris, have issued two fasiculi entitled, *Peintres de Genre Co porains*, each containing one hundred reproductions from the best most popular masters belonging to the various Continental, English American schools.

In the 'Artistes Célèbres' series the most recent publications ar *Moreau* and *Les Cochin*. In the first M. Adrien Moureau gives an int ing account of the two brothers, Louis-Gabriel and Jean-Michel, v engravings and water-colours are still sought after. They were the of a Parisian barber, and by their native talent raised themselves to tions of distinction. Louis-Gabriel, usually known as Moreau l'aine born in 1740, and died in 1806; his brother was born in 1741, and, two, is the better known. He was a pupil of Lelorrain, whom he foll to Russia, and of Le Bas. His best known works are the engravings h duced for the illustration of various contemporary writings.—The graph on *Les Cochin* is from the hand of M. S. Rocheblave. Full j

is done to the merit of these famous designers and engravers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Their origin, like that of the brothers Moreau, was humble. Nicolas Cochin le Vieux, the first and best known of the Cochins of Troyes, whose birth for a long time was uncertain as to its date, has recently been fixed at shortly before October 18, 1910, the day on which he was baptized, was himself the son of a painter. Of him, and of the rest who bore his name, Cochin of Venice and the Cochins of Paris, who distinguished themselves as engravers, we have here a carefully written account, with special reference to their works. Like M. Moureau's volume, M. Rocheblave's is abundantly illustrated, and is supplied with bibliographical notes and catalogues of the artists' works.

From the same publisher we have received two series of their 'Bibliothèque d'Education artistique.' In the first series there are seven parts, containing of examples of alphabets from the pencils of Theodore de Bry (1528-1598), F. E. Ehrmann, J. D. Preisler (1666-1737), G. M. Mitilli (1634-1718), and M. J. Habert-Dys, whose work in this department is so well known. The second series consists of examples of *motifs decoratifs*. Both series promise to be useful.

In his *Handbook on Scottish Parochial Law other than Ecclesiastical* (Green & Sons), Mr. W. G. Black follows up and supplements the volume he has already published on the Parochial Ecclesiastical law of the land. The subjects he deals with are the laws relating to the School Boards and to the Relief of the Poor. On these, as well as on the Ecclesiastical laws of Scotland, Mr. Black is a well-known authority. The work is of a moderate size, and is published at a price which places it within the reach of many. Mr. Black is a safe guide, and to have his clear and straightforward untechnical exposition of the intricate subjects with which he here deals in so compendious a form, is an advantage.

In another handy little volume, Mr. Black answers the question which he takes for the title of the volume—*What are Teinds?* (Green & Sons). First of all, the history of teinds or tithes is dealt with both in England and in Scotland, and a very interesting chapter the history as here treated forms. It is mostly taken from Lord Selborne's admirable volumes, but readers who are not in possession of these will be none the less grateful for the information it contains. The later chapters deal with teinds in the present and with an account of some of the customs and practices which still survive from the Old Church. As to the law of teinds as it at present exists, Mr. Black is not exactly satisfied. Many who are acquainted with them are of the same mind.

Mr. T. Bayne, who some time ago edited for the 'Clarendon Press Series' Scott's *Marmion*, has now edited for the same series the same author's *Lord of the Isles*, with ample notes and introduction. So far as we have examined them, the notes are full and informing. Here and there, however, Mr. Bayne derives nouns from verbs, when the better plan would be where possible to give the noun. For instance, the first part of 'bugle-horn' is surely better from O. Fr. *bugle* rather than from the verb *bugler*. The stone referred to in l. 397 as Columba's stone, is in all likelihood, the stone of which Adamnan speaks in his last chapter, the stone which St. Columba was in the habit of using as his pillow, and which was afterwards erected at his grave, and there in Adamnan's time stood as a kind of monument. These however, are comparatively small matters. The work deserves to stand well in the admirable series to which it belongs.

Memorable Edinburgh Houses (Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier), by Wilmot Harrison, is a book which deserves to be in the hands of all visitors to Edinburgh. Edinburgh, as everyone knows, has a number of very famous houses, their fame being derived not from any great architectural beauty they possess, but from those who once owned them or resided in them. Here in his volume Mr. Harrison marks them all off into certain routes, and acts as the cicerone to the reader pointing out the houses,—often giving pictures of them. Frequently, too, he relates what is of most worth to know about their famous residents, and describes any remarkable scene that took place in them. For his materials he has, of course, drawn upon various sources.

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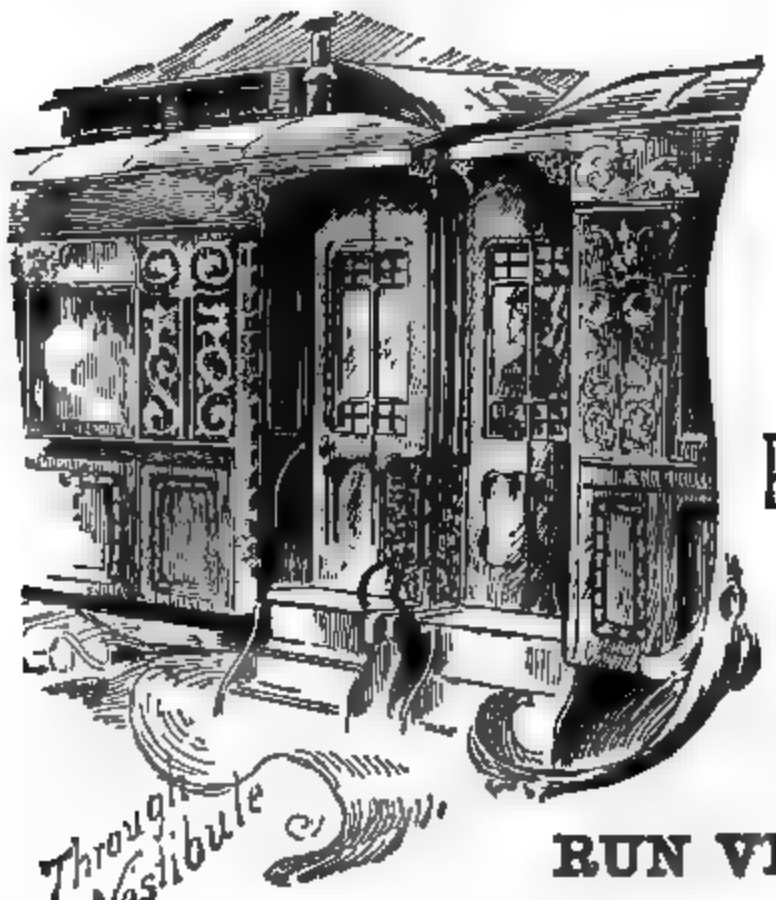

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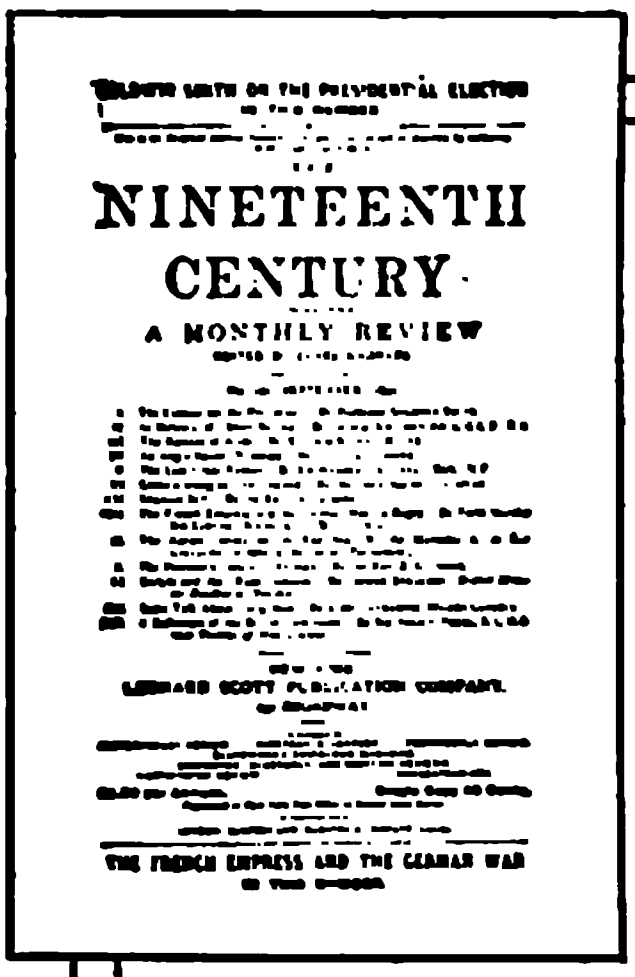

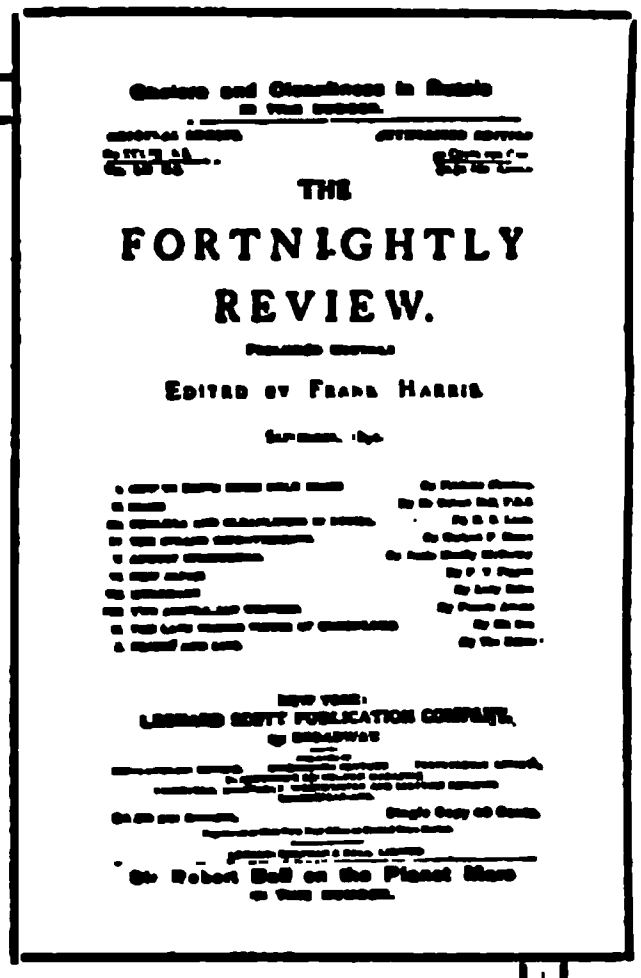

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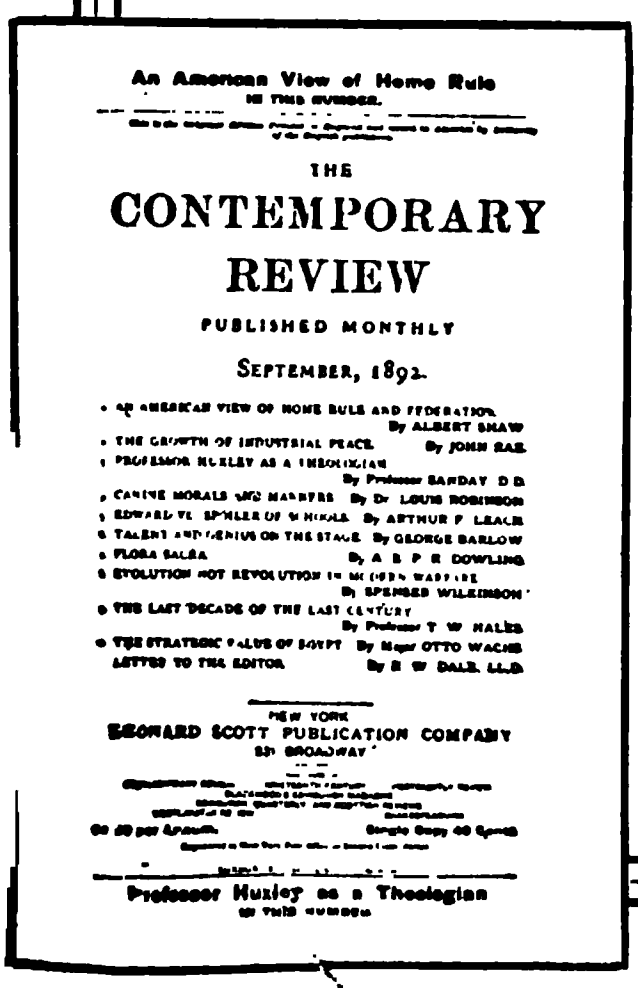

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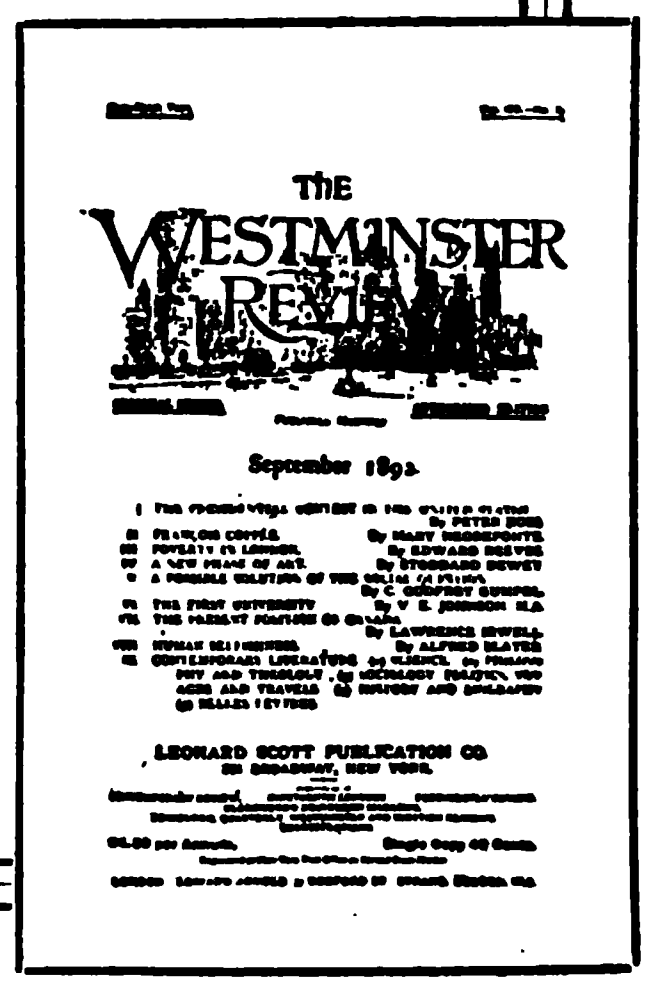
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